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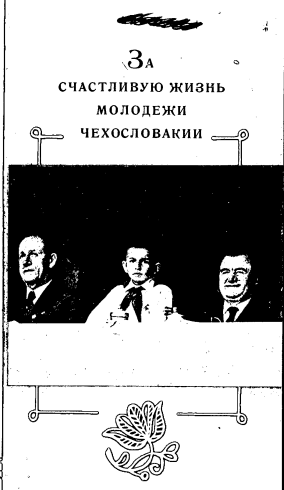
Быстрым темпом возрастает также число высших учебных заведений и их уровень повышается. В высших учебных заведениях проходят курс наук дети рабочих, мелких и средних земледельцев. Студенты получают от государства стипендию, которая повышается при достижении выдающихся успехов. Миллионы издаваемых книг, большое количество театров, кино, музеев, библиотек и учебных кабинетов служат делу повышения образования нашей молодежи.

Подобным образом физкультура и спорт создаются в Чехословакии на основе массовости и пользуются всесторонней поддержкой государства. Демократическое государство предоставляет много миллионов на строительство спортивных сооружений и поддержку развития спорта. Ежегодно устраиваются спортивные игры молодежи, в рамках которых состязаются десятки тысяч юношей и девушек.

Целью нашего Правительства Народного фронта являются забота о благе человека, о непрестанном повышении жизненного уровня народа. Молодежь доказывает свою благодарность народно-демократическому Правительству тем, что под руководством Чехословацкого союза молодежи она все активнее принимает участие в строительстве социализма на нашей Родине.

Молодые люди в Чехословакии с отвращением смотрят на всех тех, которым хотелось бы вызвать войну и тем лишить их радостной будущности. Вследствие этого чехословацкая молодежь прилагает все свои усилия к тому, чтобы вместе с прогрессивной молодежью всего мира воспрепятствовать осуществлению планов поджигателей войны. Поэтому молодежь Чехословакии горячо приветствует IV Всемирный фестиваль молодежи и студенчества за мир и дружбу в Бухаресте, который является могущественным смотром сил молодого поколения всего мира.



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Чехословацкая республика является государством с широко развитой промышленностью, которая в народной демократии, при власти рабочего класса и великой помощи Советского Союза с каждым годом возрастает.

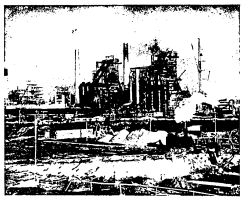
Наша молодежь работает, главным образом, в промышленности.

Жизнь молодежи во времена капиталистической республики была тяжелой и нерадостной. Десятки тысяч молодых людей бедствовали без работы и какой бы то ни было поддержки государства, без возможности получить образование.

Выставка показывает, как жизнь чехословацкой молодежи после освобождения нашей страны Советской армией от фашистской оккупации изменилась до неузнаваемости. Простые люди, рабочие и крестьяне взяли власть в свои руки. Народная власть дала трудящемуся народу большие права. Ни расовая, ни национальная принадлежность, ни религиозное вероисповедание не являются препятствием для участия гражданина нашей народно-демократической республики в управлении государством. Для каждого гражданина нашей республики конституция гарантирует право на труд и вознаграждение за исполненную работу, на отдых после работы, право на образование и охрану здоровья, право избирать и быть избранным на верховные функции.

Молодое поколение нашей республики является поколением свободных и полноправных людей, для которых открыты все пути в жизнь. Каждый молодой человек, пусть это будет юноша или девушка, может избрать для себя призвание, согласно своим интересам и способностям. Народно-демократическое государство заботится о развитии таланта каждого молодого человека.

Во всех промышленных отраслях были организованы государственные училища, в которых юноши и девушки бесплатно обучаются своей профессии. В училищах ученики имеют возможность не только приобрести профессиональные знания, но и культурно развиваться и заниматься спортом.



В деревне также развивается новая жизнь. Повышается механизация сельскохозяйственных работ, с полей исчезает трудоемкая работа, возрастает растительное и животноводческое производство. Тысячи юношей и девушек стали квалифицированными трактористами, агрономами и специалистами животноводства.

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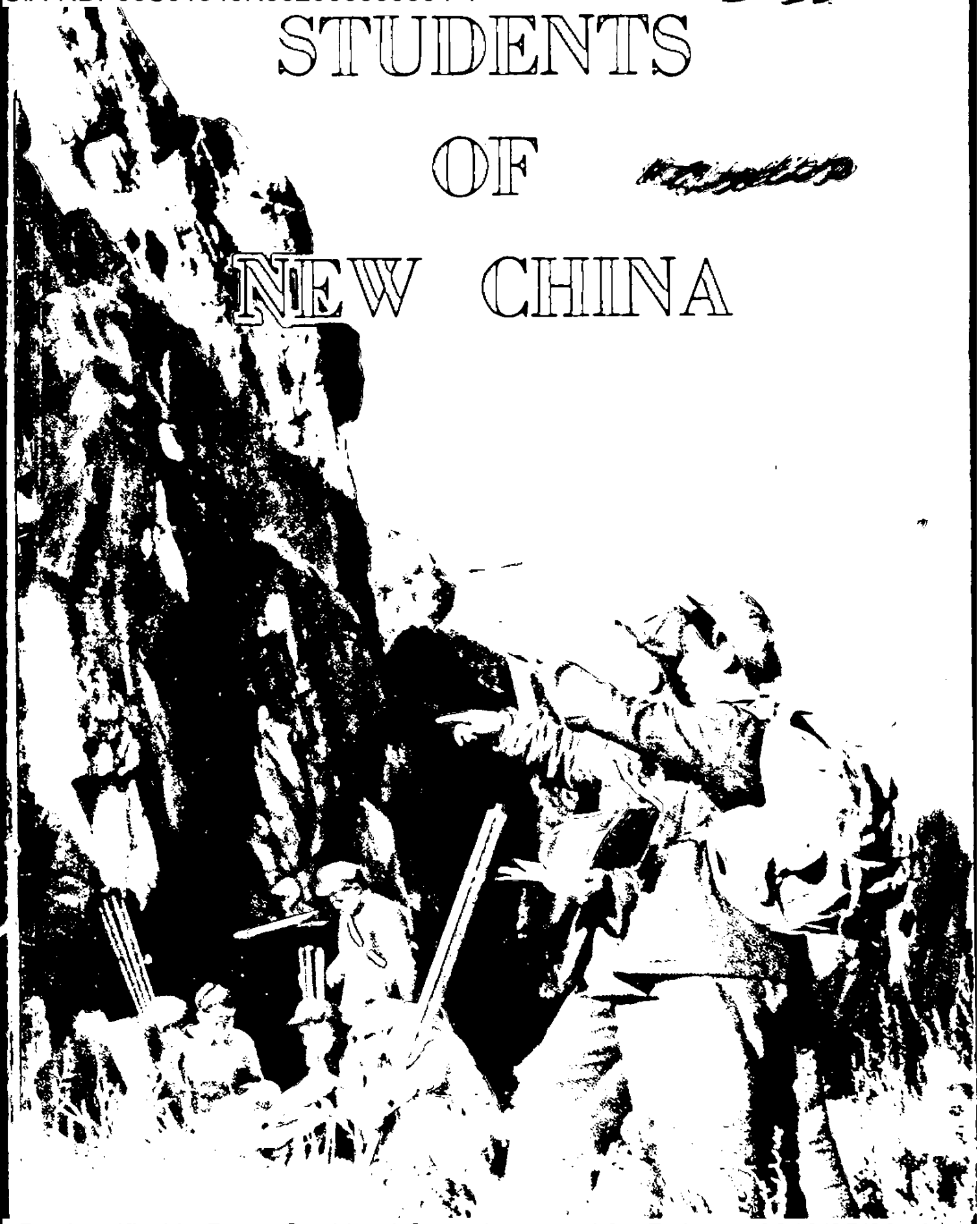
STUDENTS OF [redacted] NEW CHINA



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"Look at all the new school buildings!" exclaim these students at the sight of the new structures being added to their campus

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Schools Now Open to Young People

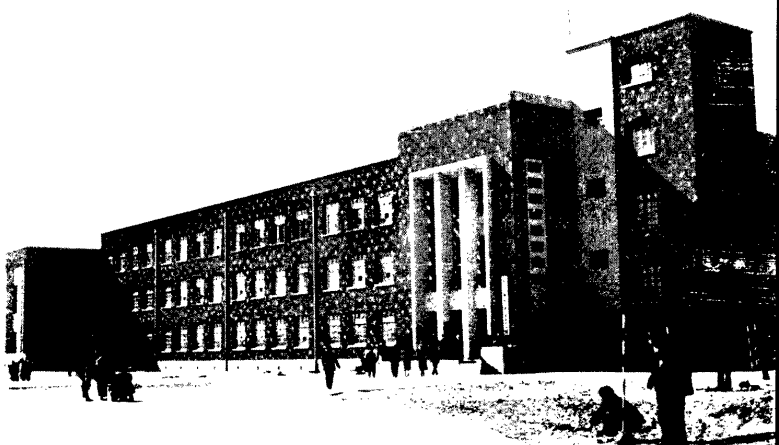
Following the rehabilitation and development of her economy, China's educational and cultural work has made unprecedented progress. At present, there are about 202,000 college students; 3,090,000 students in secondary schools; and 50 million children in primary schools. These figures greatly surpassed the 1946's which were the highest before the liberation.

All educational institutions now open their gates to workers and peasants, and many short-term secondary schools for workers and peasants have been specially established for them throughout the country. Tuition fees and food expenses for all students of universities, technical, normal schools and other institutions of higher learning are provided by the Government, while the number of people's scholarships for secondary school students has also been increased. By these measures, the broad masses of young people of China are now able to enter schools.

The Chinese People's University — the first institution of higher education of a new type set up in China

On the campus of Peking University

This well-equipped building form part of the newly-established Northeast Geological Institute



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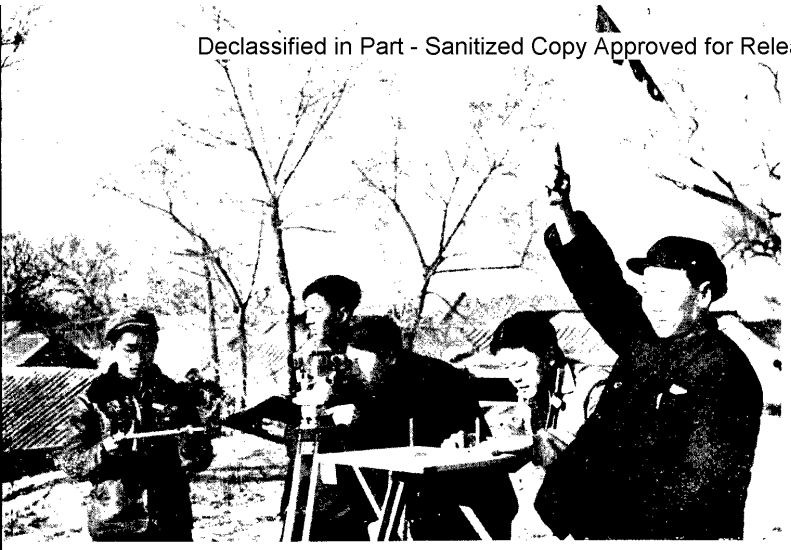
Preparing to Be Competent Builders of the Country



Chinese students combine theory with practice in their study—a surveying team doing field work

These students of Peking University of Agriculture are gathering a rich crop of melons from the field

Students of geology are listening to a lecture on mineralogy on the spot

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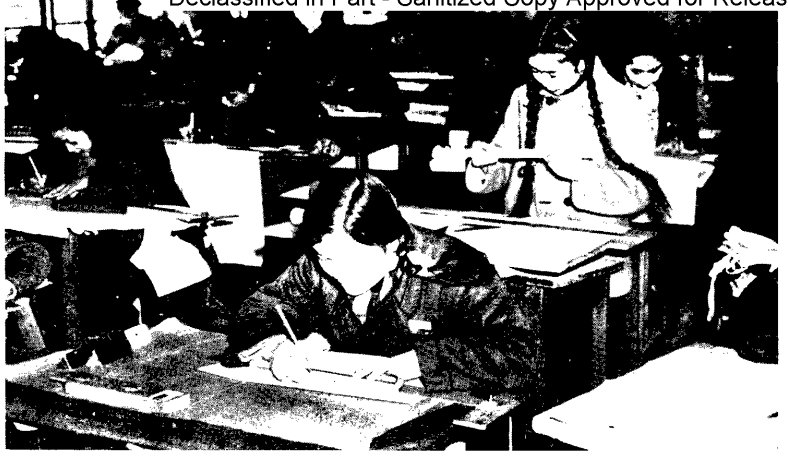
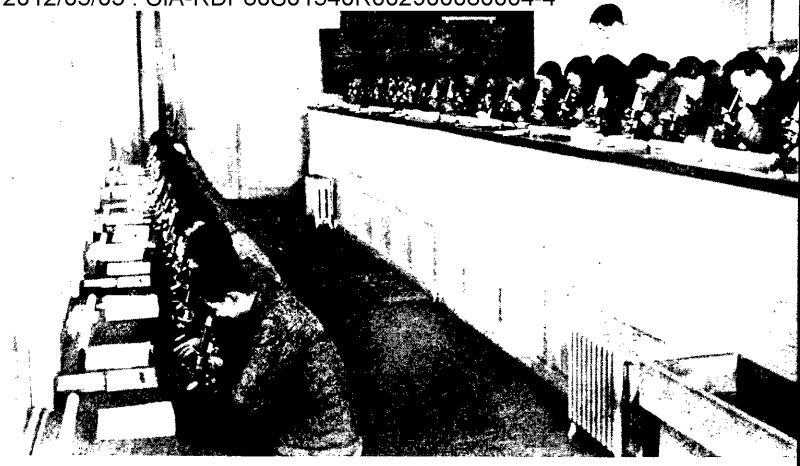
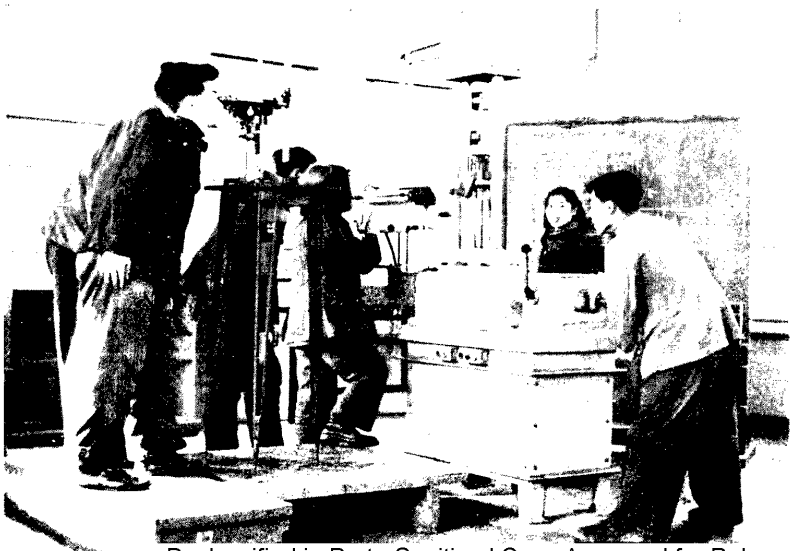


Students of civil engineering are practising architectural design

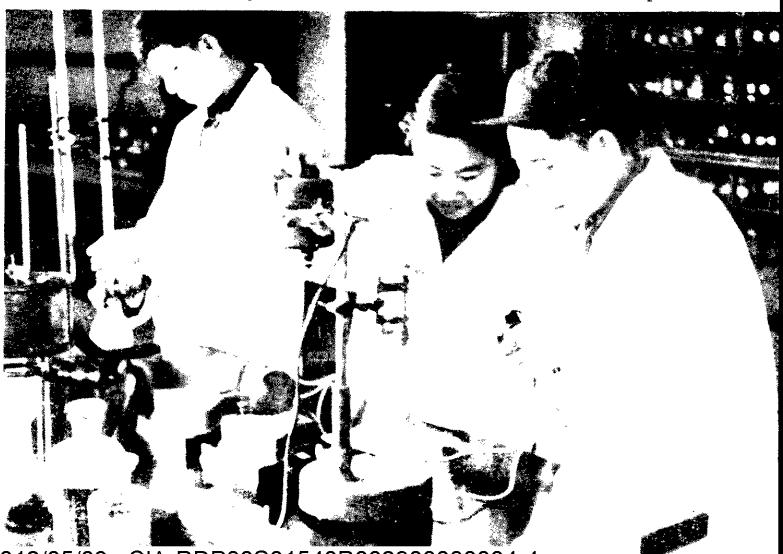


Students of Chinese Medical College examining specimen under the microscopes

Students of Harbin Industrial College are doing experiments with new instruments on the tensile strength of materials



What they learn from books, they apply in experiments that serve the needs of China's industrial production—students of Shantung University analysing the fats content of oils for a chemical plant



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Chinese Students Are Fond of Sports!

Morning exercises keep students buoyed up for the rest of the day

Swinging on fixed bars is nothing out of the ordinary for this young girl

A group of students are practising for long-distance race

Water-polo is a favorite summer sport among the students

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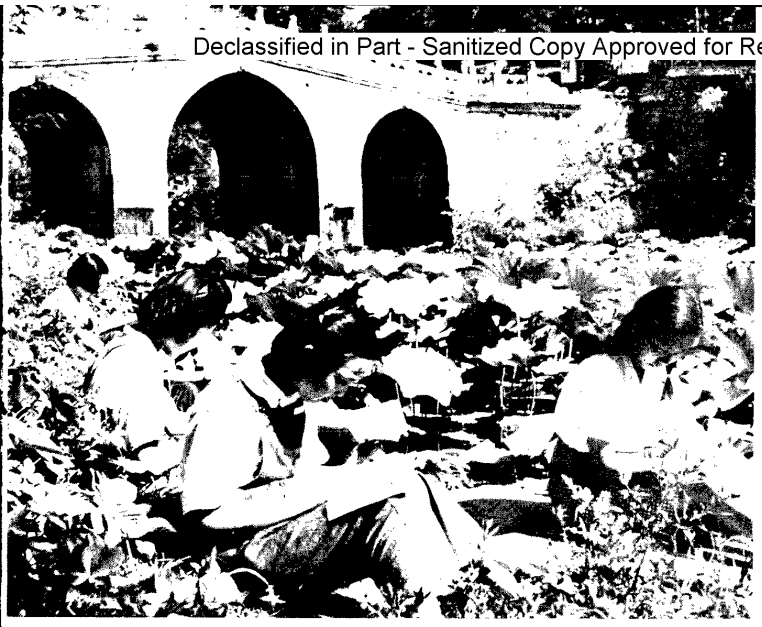

This beautiful spot on the campus attracts students for quiet reading

After class, group games and dances are much in vogue

Recreation and Pastimes

The beauty of nature invites a recital of poetry

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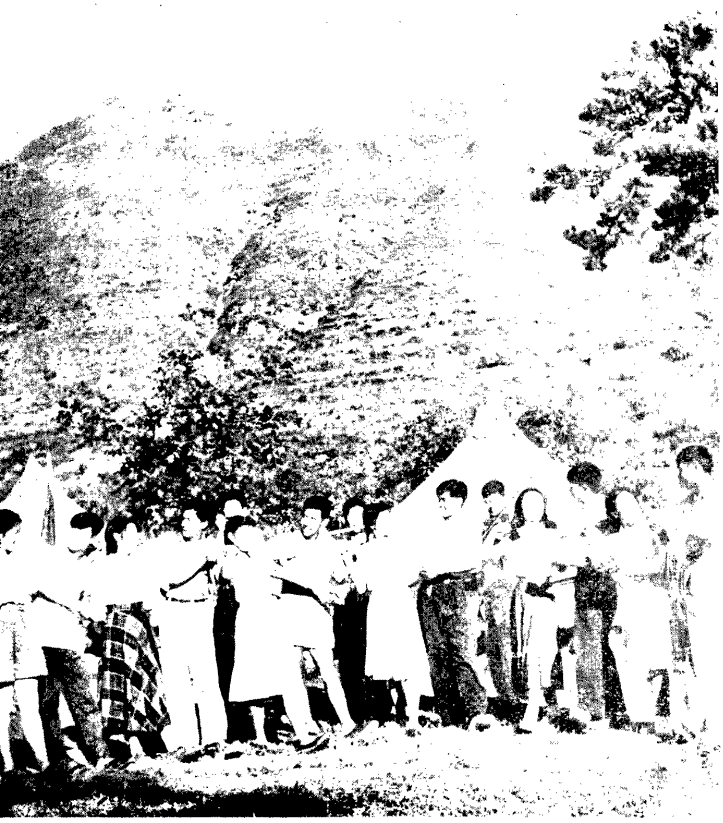
Happy Life in Summer Camps

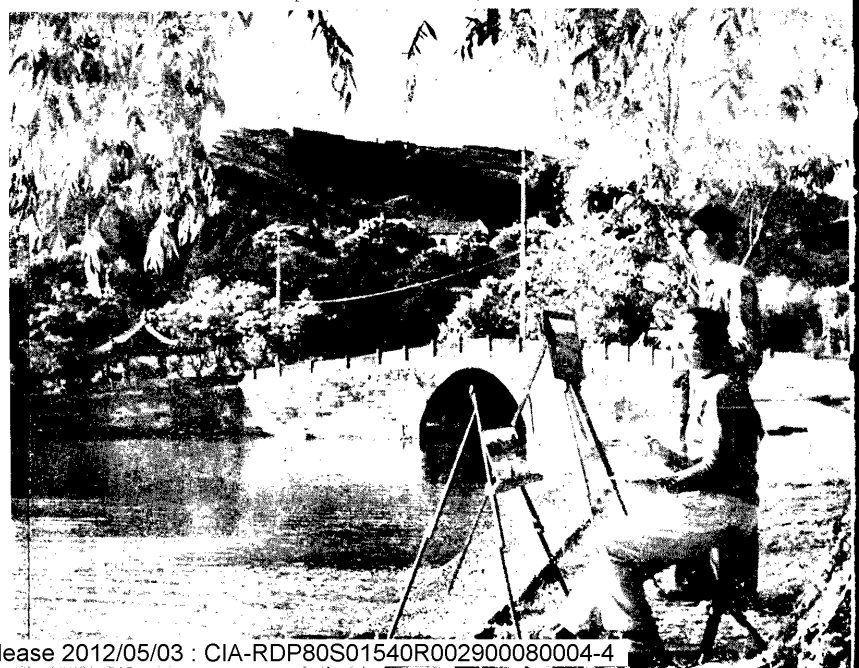


Songs and laughter resound early and late on the camp site

The coolness of the seaside brings great pleasures to these student holiday-makers

Student vacationers pose for the camera in front of Peking's Temple of Heaven

The West Lake at Hangchow, Chekiang Province, one of China's famous scenic spots, is well-liked by painters



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In a Family of Many Nationalities

After the establishment of the People's Republic of China, much attention has been paid to the educational and cultural development of national minorities. In the national minority areas, the number of schools has greatly increased and schools have been specially set up to train cadres among the national minorities. The Central Institute for Nationalities was set up in Peking with eight branches in other parts of the country enrolling students from over fifty nationalities.

These are some of the students in their national costumes in front of the Central Institute for Nationalities in Peking

These girls of the Yi nationality are happy with their chance of study now

These Uighur children can now learn to write their own language

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Learn Wholeheartedly from the Soviet Union!

Chinese students, in response to the call of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, are fervently learning the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and the advanced Soviet science and technique so as to prepare themselves for the country's large-scale construction.

A Soviet professor with students of the Chinese People's University

Students of Industrial College are doing experiments here under a Soviet professor's instruction

A student is studying on a Soviet-built lathe for the method of operating it

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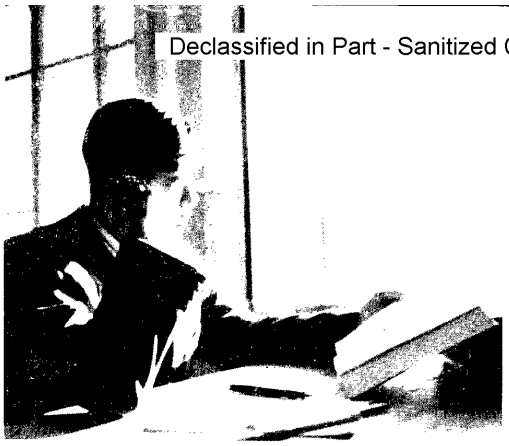
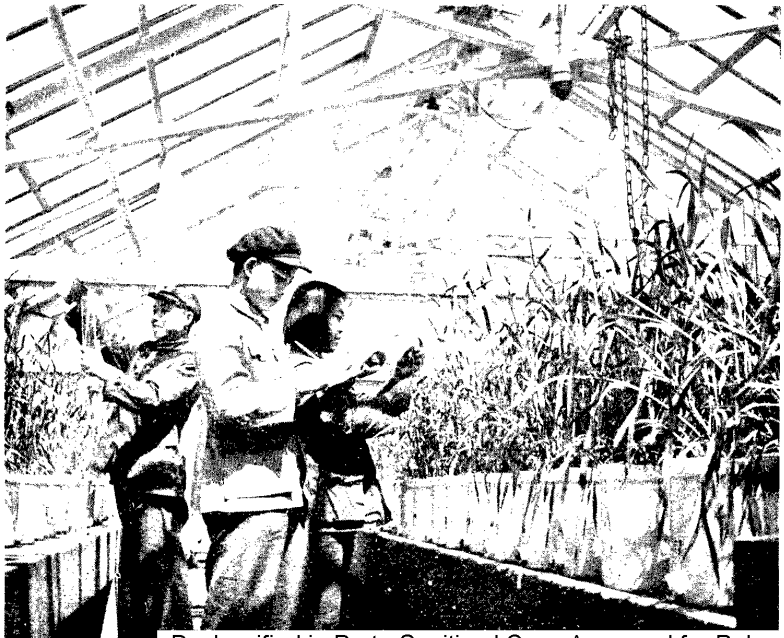
At the Construction Posts

The rapid economic development of New China means an ever-growing demand for personnel everywhere. College graduates are immediately enrolled in the gigantic effort to build up this vast land, and they can feel confident that they will add to its strength and prosperity.



This student at an industrial college can devote himself without worry for the future to his graduation thesis

Higher agricultural output is the aim of these young college graduates doing scientific experiments at the Agricultural Research Institute



China's rich underground resources have not yet fully been brought to light. These graduates in Geology are trying to locate the hidden resources which the nation now needs

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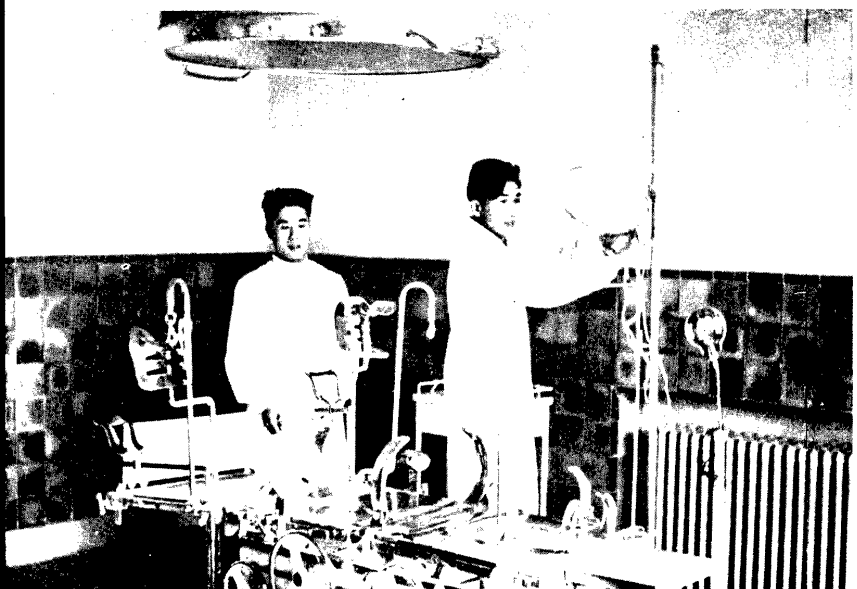
These young graduates of Changchun Architectural Institute discuss their first designs with their professor



More doctors need to be trained to ensure the people's health. Medical facilities are also steadily increasing

For more and better iron and steel

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Delegates to the Executive Committee Meeting of the International Union of Students held in Peking in April 1951, received a warm welcome in the various cities of China when they toured the country

Raymonde Dien and other French youth delegates are seen here with students of the Chinese People's University in Peking

A friendly basket-ball match between the teams of China and the Soviet Union at the 11th World University Summer Games in Berlin in the summer of 1951

We Extend Our Hands of Friendship to Peace-loving Young People and Students Throughout the World!

Peking youth and students met to celebrate the successful conclusion of the Executive Committee Meeting of the International Union of Students in front of one of the former imperial palaces

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A Chinese students' delegation is visiting the Soviet Union

Korean students of Kim Il-sung University are welcome to continue their studies in China

Students from the People's Democracies of Europe are studying the Chinese language at Peking

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At the third anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, Chinese students demonstrated their confidence in the future and pledged to do their utmost for their country's development, for the defence of world peace!

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YOUTH OF NEW CHINA

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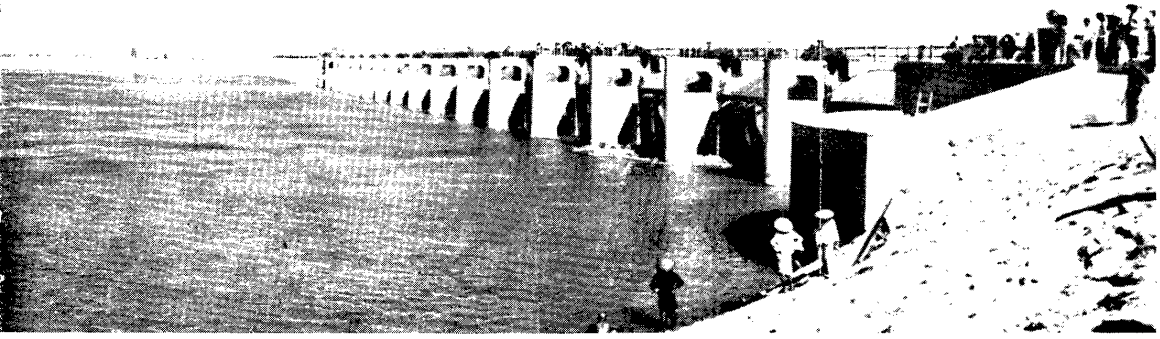
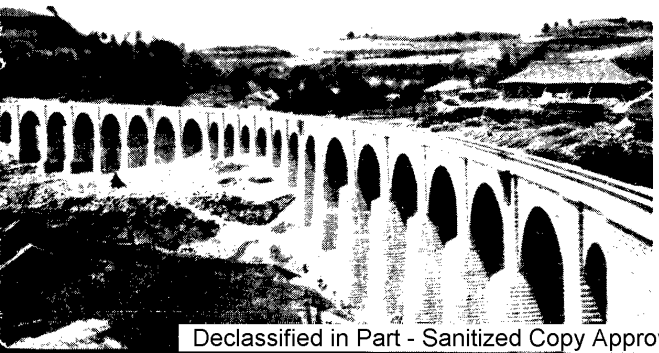


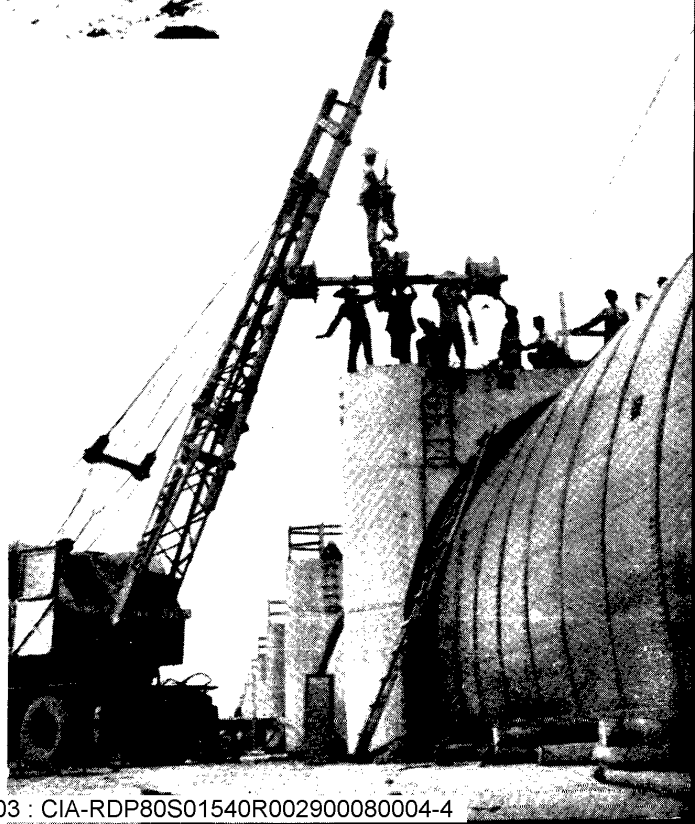
In 1952 the Ching River flood basin project has been completed in the short period of 75 days, relieving 3.000.000 people from the threat of floods and ensuring bumper crops on 533.000 hectares of land.

Young People's Enthusiasm for Labour Bubbling Everywhere

Peaceful construction is being undertaken on a large scale on the soil of liberated China: gigantic water conservancy works, new rail-lines, factories, mines etc. Chinese youth, who have played an important role in the cause of the liberation of the Chinese people, have now become active builders of new China. They are confidently building up their great and beautiful Motherland, in anticipation of a still happier future.



The 505 - kilometer long Chengtu-Chungking Railway was opened to traffic in July 1952. This is the first railroad built entirely of home-made materials.



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Engaged in intense but happy labour

Model girl spinner Ho Chien-hsiu (above, right) and young brick-layer Hsu Chang-yu (below), whose new working methods are now being spread all over the country

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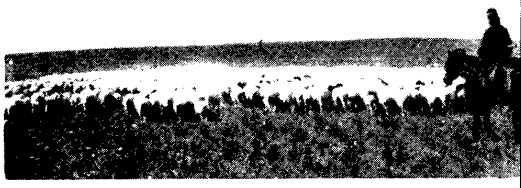
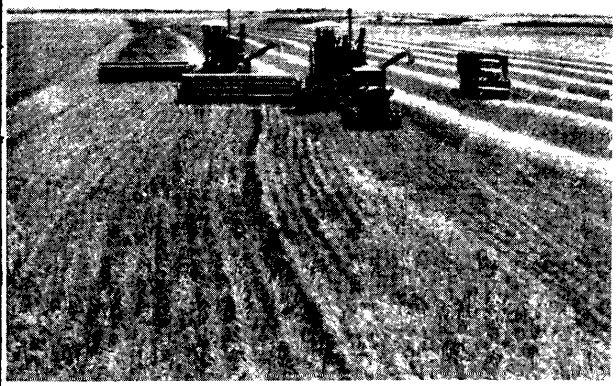
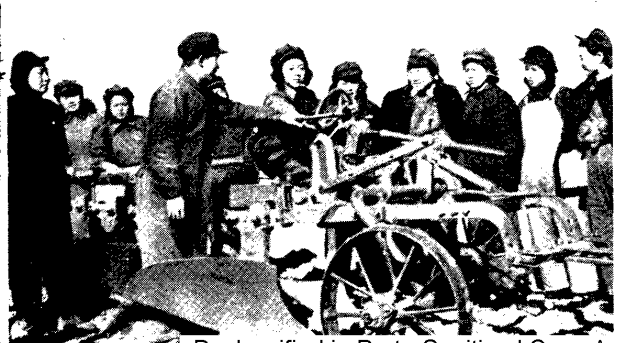


A youth tending to his flocks in the vast plains of Inner Mongolia.



Young tractor-drivers of state farms working and studying hard.

Young peasants are active participants in the mutual-aid and co-operative movement and in spreading advanced agro-technique



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Schools Have Opened Their Gates to the Broad Masses of Youth.

Cultural and educational work in New China has made unprecedented achievements. In the latter half of 1952, there are about 220,000 college students, over 3,000,000 middle school students and 49,000,000 primary school students in the country. New school buildings are under construction, while the number of people's scholarships has increased. All these measures have made it possible for the broad masses of youth to enter school.

In the People's Republic of China, all the nationalities are living in a big, happy family. Here in these palace-style buildings, young people of different nationalities from various parts of the country are studying.

The western suburbs of Peking have been marked out as the Cultural and Educational Zone. This photo shows part of the school buildings of the Chinese People's University, in which a large number of intellectuals of worker or peasant origin are studying.

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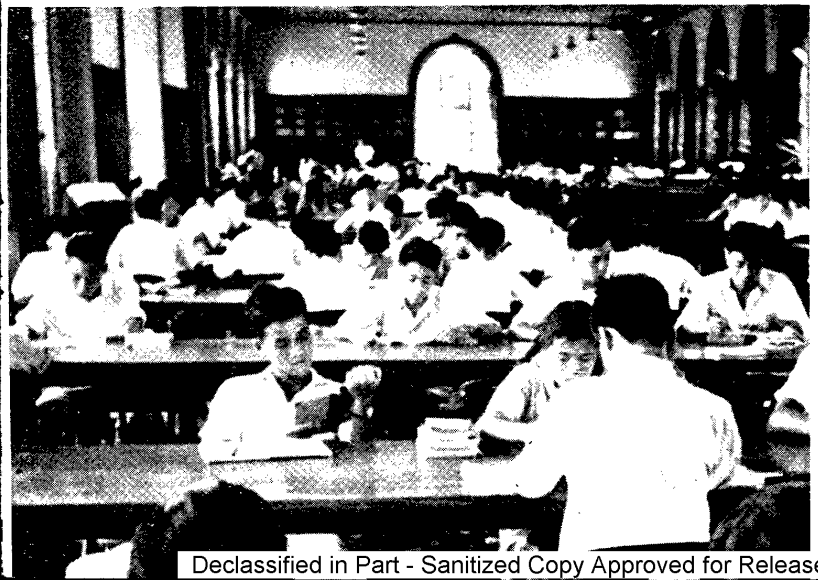
Study Diligently for the Construction of Our Motherland!

In our Motherland countless factories, schools and dormitories are waiting for us to design.

"The harder we study, the more serviceable shall we be to our patients."—future doctors studying the nervous system.

"Let's offer to the Motherland more and better varieties."—future agriculturists in the process of studying a new variety of papayas.

The reading room of the library is always packed.



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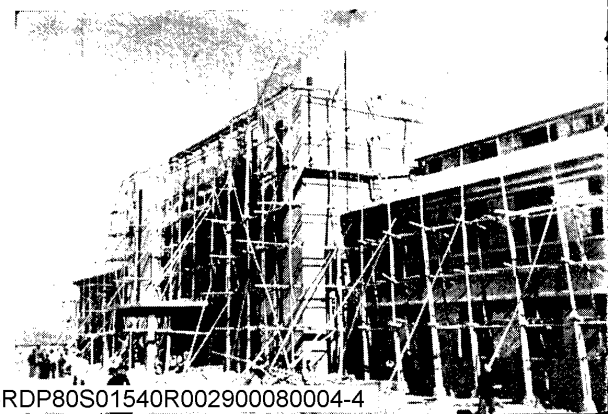
Solicitude of the People's Government for the Life of Youth

Young workers enjoying good time in a seaside sanitarium in Peitaiho, Hopei province.

A great number of comfortable and neat-looking dormitories are being built for the workers all over the country. This is a newly built dormitory for the workers of a hemp factory in Chekiang Province.



A hospital for the miners of Huainan Colliery now under construction.

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Happy Cultural and Recreational Activities

The young workers of new China thirst for knowledge. They are constant patrons of bookstores.

Young people love singing. They sing of peace and of their happy youth.

Chinese youth often have a swell time taking trips to scenic spots and places of historic interest on their holidays.

Students resting at a summer camp.

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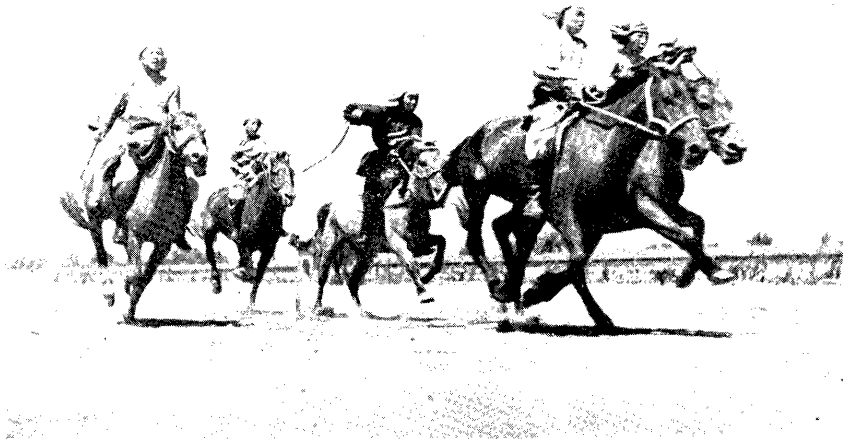
We are the Healthy Younger Generation!

Basketball has become popular in factories and the countryside as a favorite sport among the broad masses of youth.



Youth of Inner Mongolia are good at horse-riding. This photo shows their stalwart posture.

Youth practising diving at the Peking People's Swimming Pool.

Severe cold can in no way dampen young people's interest in sports. Winter in North China is a good season for games on ice.

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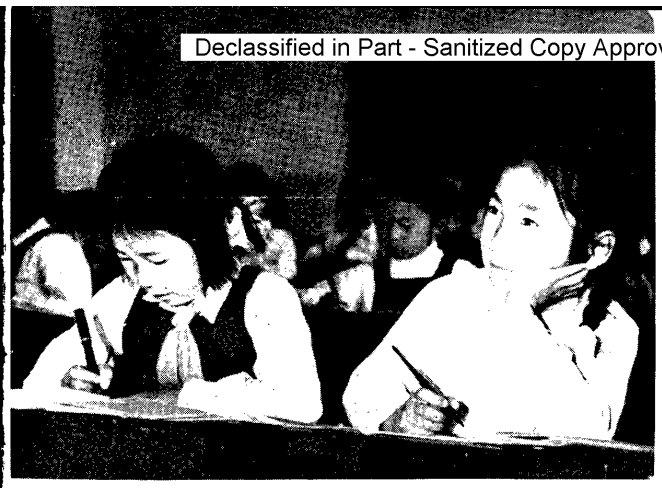
They Grow Up in Happiness!



"How should I answer this question?" the child asks herself, when doing exercises.

...ay their childhood be filled with songs of joy!— a music lesson.

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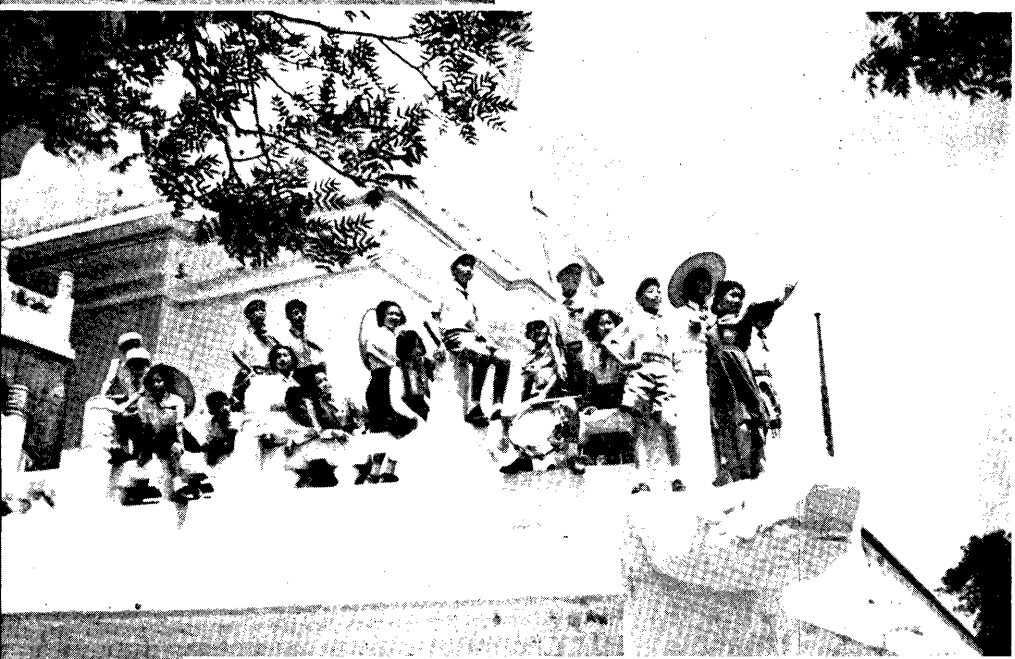
Off we go to the newly built Children's Palace of Culture!

How beautiful our Motherland is!—children on a hike.



Young scientists collecting specimens.

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The youth's procession in May Day Parade. They are shouting, "We oppose the rearming of Japan! We demand the conclusion of a Five-Power Peace Pact!"

Chinese Youth Fervently Love Peace. They are Making Every Effort to Defend It.

The Chinese youth understand that their present happy life has been won through bitter struggle of the Chinese people throughout many years. To defend the fruits of victory and to safeguard world peace, they will contribute all their efforts to the cause of national construction and the preservation of peace.

Chinese workers adding their signatures to the Appeal for the Conclusion of a Five-Power Peace Pact

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Chinese Pioneers singing with Korean youth delegates.

Chinese youth together with youth from different countries at the Berlin Festival

Chinese Youth Extend Friendly Hands to Peace-loving Youth All Over the World.

Chinese youth heartily welcoming youth delegates from Soviet Union and other countries on a visit to China.

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YOUNG BUILDERS OF CHINA

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YOUNG BUILDERS OF CHINA

STAT

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS
PEKING, CHINA

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FOREWORD

In the three and a half years since the birth of New China, the Chinese people have achieved historic successes on the economic, cultural and other fronts. The young workers of China have contributed a considerable share to these accomplishments. Educated and guided by their great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Communist Party of China, the youth of China are given every chance to devote their creative abilities to building up their great motherland.

Chinese workers, highly conscious of their responsibilities as the leading class of the society, are performing heroic feats of labour and are leading their country towards industrialization. Peasants, tilling their own soil, are reaping bumper harvests and are advancing steadily towards collective farming. Hand in hand with the working people, the intellectuals are doing their best to help make their country prosperous.

In all these endeavours of peaceful construction, there have emerged from among the Chinese youth a great number of model workers, labour heroes, innovators, record-makers—all ardent patriots. As China has now launched its first five-year plan of large-scale economic construction, the ranks of these fine sons and daughters of the Chinese people will continue to swell.

Within the compass of this pamphlet we can give only a few of the countless examples of creative energy of the

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Chinese youth. It is hoped, however, that these will give the reader a general idea of how China's young people are working might and main for the prosperity of their country, for a happy future and for peace.

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CHENG HSI-KUN—THE BIRTH AND GROWTH OF A LABOUR HERO

Hsiao Ch'ien

On the morning of August 18, 1949, a line of freight cars pulled by Locomotive MK 105 moved south from Kirin on the Chinese Changchun Railway. At noon, it pulled up at Chingyuan, 196 kilometres from Shenyang (Mukden). Cheng Hsi-kun, the driver, jumped to the ground from the footplate, followed by his two mates, assistant driver Li Peng-tung and stoker Li Chen-hsi, all three of them sturdy young fellows in their middle twenties.

They gave their engine its regular check-over. Young Li Chen-hsi, with the bit of cotton waste he carried in his pocket, gave an extra polish to its shiny new brass plate that proudly proclaimed: "Youth Crew." Only four months ago, this engine had been taken, a heap of scrap iron in the railway yard, a bare skeleton of eight rusty wheels and a fire-box, and repaired by the workers at the engineering shops in their spare time to commemorate the first May Day after the liberation of Northeast China. On July 1 of the same year—the 28th anniversary of the Communist Party of China—Cheng Hsi-kun and his three-shift crew of eight other youths—six among them Youth League members—took it out on its first official run. They treasured it as they treasured

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Cheng Hsi-kun, the young engine driver who initiated the movement for bigger haulages on China's railways

their honour. Its brass shone like gold. It had never once run late or had an accident.

The inspection over, the three sat down in its shade and discussed the run and the engine's performance. As they talked, a middle-aged man hurried towards them across the tracks. He had learned that Locomotive MK 105 was going to Shenyang. Pointing to four wagons covered with straw mats, he said that the two in front carried melons, and the other two carried his own goods—green beans. They had been loaded the day before for Shenyang, but had been left behind, and he was afraid that if they didn't get off pretty soon, the melons and beans might rot.... He was wondering whether Locomotive MK 105 could take them along.

Cheng Hsi-kun explained that the trains were formed up by the despatcher, and that the engine driver couldn't decide these things. But at the same time, he thought to himself that the Youth League had always taught him

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the people's railway should serve the people. If these cars of produce really got spoilt, wouldn't that be a loss to the people? He talked things over with his two mates and they went to look for the station master. Just then, a telephone call came from the despatcher, notifying Locomotive MK 105 to take along the two cars of melons. The beans were not mentioned. After getting the station master's consent, Cheng Hsi-kun picked up the phone and asked if he could take the beans as well. The despatcher was doubtful: "Your engine's hauling all it can already. Those wagons weigh at least sixty tons! You couldn't haul all that extra load. Yesterday, one engine was given only eight tons over its capacity. It had to leave a wagon behind!"

Cheng Hsi-kun said: "There are lots of things we couldn't do before that we can do now!" He pointed out that the rated load of each wagon included a sizable safety margin, so that an engine could quite safely haul a bigger load than the total rated load of its wagons. There was also extra power in the engine that could be exploited. He added: "We three Youth League members just can't shut our eyes to the fact that two wagon-loads of beans may rot here at this station. I pledge that we won't be a minute late!" His mates backed him up and the despatcher, though somewhat hesitantly, agreed.

It was a challenge to all the traditions of Chinese railways.

Locomotive MK 105 whistled shrilly towards the opaque sky and started moving south, trailing a cloud of black smoke. In the cab, the three mobilized their energies as for a battle. Cheng Hsi-kun took the controls, planned how to attack steep gradients with his extra load, how to brake the unaccustomed impetus of the heavy wagons behind him when he came to stops. The stoker fed fuel

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to the hungry furnace; assistant driver Li Peng-tung saw to the oil, helped whenever needed.

The boundless fields of the Northeast plains stretched on both sides. Kaoliang (sorghum) crops nodded with the rush of their passage.

At 4 p.m.—three minutes ahead of scheduled time—the train pulled by Locomotive MK 105 reached Shenyang. Its achievement was doubly important: it had hauled a bigger load than its rated capacity, and it had beaten the scheduled time. It had broken the conservative traditions which had for many years shackled the productivity of China's railway workers. It had started a nation-wide movement for capacity loads and bigger haulage.

Cheng Hsi-kun had worked in the fields like a little slave of the landlords from the time he was seven years old. In winter, when there was no work in the fields, his father kept the family alive by making and selling straw mats. Small as Cheng Hsi-kun was then, he had to carry mats weighing 20 or 25 kilogrammes on his shoulders, plodding behind his aged father from village to village, in knee-deep snow. When he was sixteen, he went to work on the railways. He found himself, like the other workers, treated worse than a slave. It was the time of puppet "Manchukuo" rule. In punishment for "disobedience," the Japanese militarists sent him to the barren Black River area of north Manchuria to build a railway.

After V-J Day, he joined the Locomotive Section of Suchiatun Station. But under Kuomintang regime, the life of the worker was no less bitter. His main food was still bean-cakes and acorn powder. Railway time-tables meant nothing to Kuomintang soldiers. To get a lift, they often held his train up at gun-point.

Then came liberation. The railway workers became masters of their lives. Under the leadership of the All-

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China Federation of Railway Workers, a democratic management committee was established by the workers and staff members on the line. Safety measures were introduced, and a labour insurance system was set up. Cheng Hsi-kun was elected to the democratic management committee. Many of his suggestions concerning finance, personnel and technique were adopted.

During the land reform, his family at Great Stone Bridge received over 10 *mou* of land, and his old father, who had suffered life-long poverty, became an activist in his village. Cheng Hsi-kun's wages more than trebled, and what with the bonuses he received for economies in coal and extra haulage, he was soon able to be reunited with his wife in his own home. In the past, they had lived from hand to mouth, but today, he is ordering his month's supply of flour and rice by the bagful from the co-operative, and his wife attends night school.

In the old days when he reached the end of his run on a night shift, he would just throw himself exhausted on a lice-laden *kang*[1] of the hovel that served as a hostel. Today, hostels for train crews along the line are as comfortable as first-class rest homes—clean sheets on spring beds, and a pair of white pyjamas folded on the pillow, hot and cold running water in the bathrooms twenty-four hours a day, and the canteen serving hot meals day and night.

In the neighbourhood of Cheng Hsi-kun's own home, the Railway Administration Bureau has built for the workers' families a public bathhouse, a primary school, a

[1] The *kang* is rectangular in shape, made of mud bricks, about three feet high, eight feet long and four feet wide. The centre is hollow and heated by a stove chimney running through it. It is slept upon at night and sat upon during the day. During the warm weather, its connection with the stove is blocked off.

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nursery and a club with a hall seating five hundred. It was in that hall that Cheng, for the first time in his life, spoke before a big meeting on his experience in breaking the haulage record. After working hours, he likes best to rest for a space in the club. He plays chess, reads newspapers there. In his little front garden, he and his wife grow flowers and vegetables.

Before the liberation, a question had often troubled him. Why in this world were there the rich and powerful and the poor who suffered and starved? Was it fate? He had wondered then. But since July 1949, when he joined the New Democratic Youth League, he had found the true answer to that question. He studied the structure and history of society.

The education secretary of the section explained how "labour creates the world," and showed him the greatness of the power of the working class and the new world of justice it would build. "The value of a man," he said, "is judged not by how much he is getting, but by how much he is giving to humanity."

In the past, Cheng Hsi-kun felt, he was like a locomotive without fuel on a muddy, rail-less road. The Communist Party had laid the rails for him and showed him the direction. It had started a vital fire in his heart—the revolutionary outlook on life.

Fighting on the Production Front

Cheng Hsi-kun had fought conservatism more than once after the liberation. But the most serious battle came when he first proposed bigger haulages.

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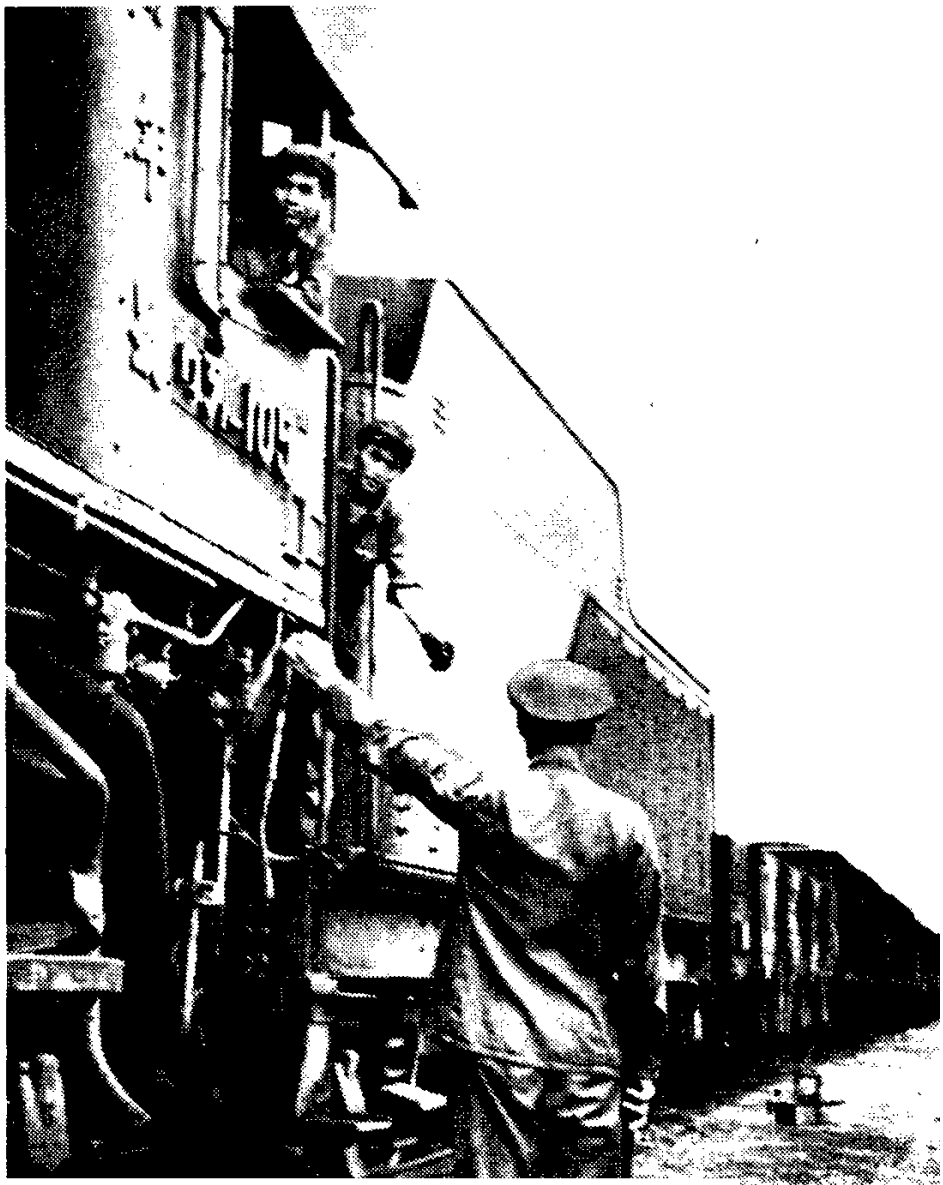
After he had successfully brought the two car-loads of beans to Shenyang, the grateful consignor wrote to the Shenyang *Workers' Daily* to thank the crew of MK 105 whose public spirit had saved him from serious loss and assured a supply of fresh beans to the people of Shenyang. This clipping from the press and a laudatory note from the Youth League branch were posted on the station notice-board. But some old railroad workers still were not convinced that his example was worth following. "To haul an extra sixty tons above the capacity haulage is impossible, or we have been crazy all the time!" they said. An old engineer said to Cheng with a pat on his shoulder: "Young Cheng, don't go too far! I was already driving an



The locomotive manned by Cheng Hsi-kun's youth crew pulls out, hauling a long train

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engine before you were born. Listen to me, the engine won't stand the strain of bigger loads!"

Such "advice" was like a sudden douche of ice-cold water. He might have faltered. But the Party and the Youth League gave him timely and powerful support. "Study hard, consolidate and develop your achievements on a scientific basis," said the Secretary of the Party branch.

In December 1950, he was admitted into the Communist Party. He tackled difficulties with renewed confidence. He learned from the Party how to rely on the masses and achieved outstanding new results. By November 1951, Cheng Hsi-kun had made one hundred and seventy-one 500-km.-a-day runs, beating the haulage record by more than 85,600 tons. In April 1952, his crew made a 1,216-km.-a-day record run. A locomotive pulled at most thirty-five cars in the past. Today, as a result of the work done by Cheng and others, two hundred cars can be hauled at increased speed, without accidents or damage to parts. The sceptics were overwhelmed by these facts.

All these achievements were inseparable from the assistance rendered by Soviet experts. In the workshops, they drew rough diagrams of the curves of slopes or engine parts and passed on to Chinese railwaymen all the wealth of experience they had accumulated in their socialist land. In snow and wind, they stood together with their Chinese comrades on the footplate fighting the slippery rails.

Cheng Hsi-kun paid the keenest attention to every detail of his work. He learnt the value of forestalling the need for repairs. He studied the lie of the rails and gradients so that he could adjust his speeds properly to take the hills and stop accurately at stations. He learnt

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all the little professional "tricks" that help one get the best out of one's engine.

The rout of the conservatives paved the way for the promotion of the movement for new records. The maintenance department thoroughly studied the possibilities to improve the railway lines and reduce the "slow" portions; the repair and inspection department offered to teach the crews the basic techniques of repair work; the engine drivers were determined to master repair and inspection work to the level of a fourth-grade technical worker. With this collective effort, the whole body of railway workers and staff developed the movement with a swing.

In the autumn of 1950, at the time MacArthur was driving the U.S. aggressive forces towards the Yalu River, Cheng Hsi-kun and the other eight comrades of the crew all volunteered, like millions of young people throughout the nation, to go to the Korean front. In November of the same year, though not accepted for service with the volunteers in Korea, they were sent to work in Antung. They saw the debris in that city on the Chinese-Korean border after the outrageous U.S. bombing raids. They heard the roar of guns across the river. They again asked to be allowed to cross the river and aid Korea. The Party secretary invited the young men and said: "To resist American aggression and aid Korea does not mean that everyone must go to the front. The 475 million Chinese are today at their different posts, all resisting American aggression and aiding Korea. The movement to run faster and haul more is in itself an important battle in the campaign."

Since then, they call their engine their "tank." They don't say, "We created a new record today," but "We have won a battle."

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Honoured by the People

In April 1950, Cheng Hsi-kun and other model workers in the Northeast arrived in Harbin for a conference specially called to enable them to exchange experiences.

He has attended several such conferences in Northeast China. He has passed on all he knows to his comrades. In all his reports, he has stressed the point that an individual's ability is limited: success in achieving new records is the concrete collective expression of the patriotic productive enthusiasm of the entire body of railway workers, a concrete expression of the strength of the Party in the building of the people's railways.

In early September 1951, while going through a training course in Tsitsihar, he was informed by the Harbin Railway Administration Bureau that he had been chosen as a representative to the forthcoming All-China Railway Workers' Conference to be held in Peking, where he would have to report on the campaign for bigger hauls and afterwards would attend the National Committee meeting of the People's Political Consultative Conference as a specially-invited delegate.

On October 1, under the azure sky of the capital, Cheng Hsi-kun stood among the model workers on a stand before the Tien An Men Gate, and viewed the grand demonstration of 400,000 people of Peking. It was an unforgettable day.

After the National Day celebrations, Cheng Hsi-kun was making ready to go back to his engine when he received a note that Lu Chen-tsao, Vice-Minister of Railways, wanted to have a talk with him. Vice-Minister Lu said: "The Central People's Government has decided to

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introduce your working methods throughout the country in 1952 and to carry through a wide-scale movement for capacity loadings, bigger hauls and a 500-kilometre run a day. Railways throughout the country will send their best drivers to Suchiatun Station to learn from you and from the Soviet experts in preparation for the coming nation-wide movement for large-scale economic construction." Cheng Hsi-kun was pleasantly startled, but he was worried, too, because he felt he was not equipped to explain problems in a theoretical way. But Vice-Minister Lu reassured him: "Don't bother about bookish language. Explain things in your own words."

Cheng Hsi-kun went away filled with what he had heard. The coming industrialization of the country demanded higher technical levels. It was necessary to get the utmost out of every machine.

Eighty drivers came from various railways and took part in the training course.

The next month, it was Cheng Hsi-kun's turn to go to study again. With over 1,500 of the best sons and daughters of New China at the Shenyang Experimental Secondary School specially established for combat heroes, old revolutionary cadres and model workers, he studied the Chinese language, mathematics, history, geography, physics and chemistry. Now at last he had a chance of getting that general cultural knowledge of which he had been deprived by the old society.

The classes divided into mutual-aid teams. They challenged each other, drew up emulation contracts and concluded patriotic pacts. They literally helped each other beat each other.

"We started the movement for bigger hauls not for show, not for fame, but to serve the people better. The

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purpose of our cultural emulation now is not to get higher marks, but to equip ourselves better to fulfil the increasing demands of the Motherland and the people," wrote Cheng Hsi-kun in an essay.

Study or work, one principle alone guides the thoughts of China's revolutionary working class—service to the people.

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MODEL SPINNER HO CHIEN-HSIU

On an autumn day in 1951, a crowd gathered around a spinning machine at the No. 6 State-owned Cotton Mill in Tsingtao. Notebook in hand, the visitors watched closely a 17-year-old girl in a checked gingham shirt at work. Every two and a half minutes, she would make the round of her machines, handling a broom and tending the spindles simultaneously with incredible deftness. After a while, the humming machines stopped, followed by an outburst of hand-clapping. The girl came forward towards the spectators with her face flushed, partly from the heat of the work and partly from shyness. Then she began explaining her working methods in detail. Among the attentive listeners were technicians and skilled workers, some twice or three times her age. They had come to the mill from various parts of the country to study the girl's advanced spinning method.

The girl's name was Ho Chien-hsiu. She had had less than two years' experience in spinning when she gained nation-wide fame as an advanced worker. She had come to the mill as an apprentice in November 1949, four months after the liberation of the coastal city of Tsingtao. After

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three months' apprenticeship she turned out to be an excellent spinner.

But her first shift as a licensed worker was an unpleasant memory to her. It was the day after the Spring Festival and she was to take up the night shift. She had not slept in the daytime—how could she, or any girl of her age, go to sleep when all sorts of festivities were going on? So she could hardly keep her weary eyes open when she worked through the wee hours. Quantities of cotton were wasted on the rubber rollers.

Ho Chien-hsiu regretted very much the excessive waste she had caused to public property.

"This must be the first and last time," she said to herself remorsefully, determined to do better from then on.

At first, she attempted to solve the problem of cotton waste within the framework of what was then the standard working method at No. 6 State-owned Cotton Mill. There seemed to be only one way to do it—keep a sharper eye on thread-breaks and waste on the rollers, to spot them as quickly as possible. This meant darting here and there, faster and faster. Ho Chien-hsiu tried it awhile, wore herself out, but did not get satisfactory results.

Seeing that this would not do, the young worker experimented boldly to revise the standard method itself. Instead of chasing breaks wherever they were noticed, she worked out a regular inspection tour of her working area, circulating constantly from left to right, looking over her spindles, cleaning the rollers with her right hand and sweeping the floor with her left. When she came across a broken thread, she connected it, leaning her broom against her leg meanwhile.

Her initiative was soon crowned with success. During the May patriotic emulation drive in 1950, Ho Chien-hsiu

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Ho Chien-hsiu, initiator of a new spinning method

distinguished herself as the best worker in cutting down the rate of waste.

The chief motive force for Ho Chien-hsiu's progress was her heightened class-consciousness. She often recalled the grim Kuomintang days when her father, a cart-driver, was unable to support a family of eight and she herself could not find any job. It was only after the liberation that she could enter the factory, and that life began to get better and better for her whole family. "If it were not for the Communist Party, how could we toiling people live

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a life of plenty today? I must show my gratitude to Chairman Mao by studying and working hard," she thought to herself.

In November 1950, Ho Chien-hsiu joined the Youth League. She understood her duty as a League member—to set an example to her fellow workers in stepping up production. She also wanted to express her patriotism through a contribution to the Resist U.S. Aggression and Aid Korea Campaign. Finally, she realized her wishes. In April 1951, she made a national record by reducing cotton waste to 0.25 per cent of the total yarn spun (one-sixth of the average rate of waste) and by handling double the number of spindles. Her new achievement astonished the whole plant. Some old workers even refused to believe it until they saw her do it with their own eyes.

The success of Ho Chien-hsiu soon attracted the attention of the Textile Workers' Trade Union of China, which despatched a team to Tsingtao to study and sum up Ho Chien-hsiu's experience. In August of the same year, a national textile workers' conference was held in Tsingtao. It was decided at this conference to popularize Ho Chien-hsiu's working method which, as Chairman Chen Shao-min of the National Committee of the Textile Workers' Trade Union of China pointed out, "would serve to push China's textile industry ahead and be applicable to other branches of industry too." It was calculated that the nation would be richer by 44,460 bales of yarn annually if the new method were universally adopted, without the installation of any new machines or increase of raw material. Such an amount of yarn would suffice to weave 64 million more yards of cloth, enough for the use of four million people a year. In value, these savings would equal 161,905 tons of grain for food.

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A spinning brigade in Canton challenges all the textile workers in the city to master Ho Chien-hsiu's method

Ho Chien-hsiu's method has by now brought great benefits to her country. In the first two months of applying her method, workers in Shanghai's spinning mills succeeded in cutting cotton waste from 1.5 per cent to 0.835 per cent. The actual increase of output that resulted was 944 bales of yarn per month, or 11,328 bales a year.

Ho Chien-hsiu's method is no individual speed-up stunt, no feat of industrial athletics. It is not based on intensified, but on more rational labour. In other words, it is entirely possible for every worker to reduce waste, and to tend more spindles, just as Ho Chien-hsiu has done. Among the 250,000 textile workers in the country, numerous brigades of the Ho Chien-hsiu type have dis-

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tinguished themselves. In Shanghai, for example, over 94 per cent of the spinning workers have mastered Ho Chien-hsiu's method. Not a few workers have even outstripped her. Another girl in Tsingtao hit a new waste low of 0.068 per cent, and Yang Lan-hua in Shanghai can now tend 1,400 spindles!

Ho Chien-hsiu's method has revolutionized working procedures not only in spinning, but in carding and weaving as well. A new weaving routine, worked out collectively by 70 model workers, textile engineers and technicians and adopted as standard by the National Conference on Weaving Methods, is based on combination of her experience with that of the best weavers in Tientsin, Shanghai and the Northeast. It raises productivity by at least 5 per cent, reduces the intensity of the work and cuts down spoilage of cloth.

The example of Ho Chien-hsiu shows how the young workers of New China, led by the Communist Party, are improving their technical standards. It shows that, under the social system of New Democracy, they are given full opportunity to develop their talents and devote their creative efforts to China's construction.

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A TECHNICIAN AT ANSHAN

Going south from Shenyang (Mukden) by train along the Harbin Railway Line (formerly the Chinese Changchun Railway), one reaches the nationally famous "Steel City"—Anshan—in two or three hours.

Approaching Anshan in the morning one sees, against a background of dawn-tinted clouds, a forest of tall chimneys sending forth huge columns of smoke, pitch dark yet silver-lined, into the sky. Veiled in the heavy smoke are the large blast furnaces, which rear their heads loftily above this smoky screen. Here, unending streams of molten iron and steel pour out day and night.

Scaffoldings of new construction projects can be seen everywhere in this industrial city. For instance, there is one being built to house a plant that will manufacture high-grade seamless steel tubes. The plant will be equipped with the most up-to-date Soviet machinery, operated by half the number of workers employed in the old-type plants. Another project is a giant rolling mill which will put out huge quantities of steel products China could not make in the past. Recently, workers completed the renovation of a blast furnace which is the first in China

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to operate automatically, from the charging with iron ore to the pouring of molten pig iron.

Anshan is not just a producing centre. It is also a big school, where everyone is learning and progressing. The hundreds of college graduates coming from all parts of the country, too, are gaining knowledge that they could have never obtained from textbooks.

Chou Chuan-tien, Vice-Director of Anshan's Iron Smelting Plant, came here in 1949 as a technician on probation. In the more than three years since then, he has seen furnaces erected out of the ruins left behind by the Kuomintang reactionaries, damaged machines repaired and set in motion, and a huge quantity of molten iron tapped every day to meet the needs of the nation. Coming fresh from college, Chou felt that he had to learn everything anew.

The newly-installed automatic blast furnace at Anshan Iron and Steel Works

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The first thing he learned was that the workers, the worthy masters of the plant, were imbued with the most selfless spirit.

One early morning, the smelters were about to be relieved by the next shift. Suddenly, an accident occurred in the furnace. Red-hot liquid burst through an opening and began to spread over the floor. The fiery flood destroyed or swept away all that lay in its path. Chou Chuan-tien and other young technicians stood awed and motionless, completely at a loss. But the smelters, though quite tired after the night's work, wasted no time and, putting their work clothes they had just taken off on again, they dashed into the heavy smoke and fire to repair the furnace despite the solidifying liquid which scorched their clothes, shoes and hair. Now and then they came out to a cooler place, sprinkled their bodies with water, only to rush back to their work. In two hours' time, they had the furnace restored to production.

Such heroism on the part of the workers was an invaluable lesson to the young technicians. Chou Chuan-tien, for one, realized all the more the important role played by the workers in the build-up of the country.

But brave and energetic as the workers were, they were not advanced technically. In the past, skilled workers and administrative personnel had been mainly Japanese who were strictly forbidden by their authorities to impart technical knowledge or experience to Chinese workers.

Chou Chuan-tien knew what big things the workers could do once they had mastered technique. So he made up his mind to help them all he could in this matter.

He was soon given the chance. He was asked to help Li Feng-en, an old furnaceman, to become a technician.

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"Is this possible?" Some people were doubtful. "In the old days, if you wanted to become a technician, you had to work as a signalman for seven or eight years after graduating from secondary school, and then as a brigade leader for nearly ten more. And Li Feng-en has had only one and a half years' schooling before liberation!" they said.

It is indeed very difficult for an ordinary worker to master the complex production processes of a blast furnace. But both Chou Chuan-tien and Li Feng-en had the will to overcome any hardships.

The two had not known each other before, but now they became fast friends. During working or recess hours, at the furnace or outside the works, in daytime or in the evenings, they were always seen studying together. Every day Chou gave his student and friend a lesson, checked the work he had done, and explained tirelessly whatever Li Feng-en was not clear about. Li Feng-en displayed great enthusiasm for his studies, just as he did for his work. There were times, however, when difficulties made him downhearted. In such cases, Chou would maintain that it was his method of teaching that was to blame. Finally, he drew up a compact with Li, under which he pledged to teach well and Li, in turn, pledged to study well.

Li had rich practical experience, and this was a great help to him in his development. After three months of intensive study, he was allowed to work on the blast furnace as an apprentice to Chou Chuan-tien. But before he did anything, he always explained to Chou what he was going to do, and went ahead only if the latter said "correct!" If he made a mistake, Chou corrected it then and there. By the fifth month, almost all the technical work was placed on Li's shoulders.

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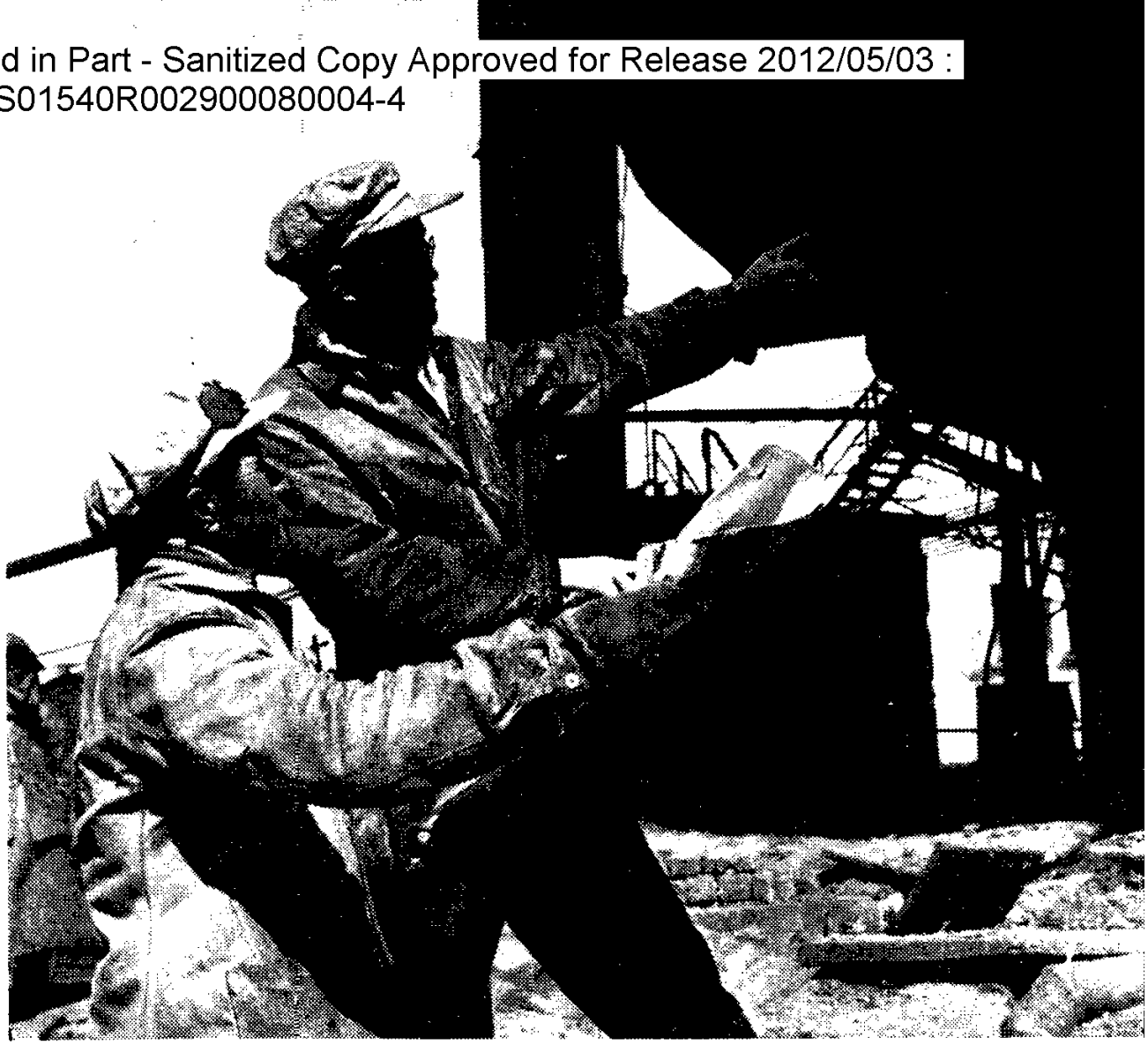

Chou Chuan-tien (right) and Li Feng-en beside a blast furnace of the Anshan Iron and Steel Plant

Thus, through the joint efforts of the teacher and apprentice, a thing formerly considered impossible had been achieved. At the end of the sixth month, Li started to work as a full-fledged technician. Moreover, it later turned out that he worked even better than many of the college graduates, and that the output of his crew was of the best quality.

The workers' enthusiasm for their work and for knowledge was a great inspiration to Chou Chuan-tien,

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who began to look upon his own work in the same way the workers did on theirs.

For some time Chou had been pondering over the much-debated question as to whether it was possible for Anshan to produce low-silicon pig iron from sintered ore, instead of producing high-silicon pig iron from briquetted ore as it had been doing for years.

The use of sintered ore lowers considerably the cost of production, and makes it possible to produce more metal. The Soviet experts had once affirmed that Anshan's development would depend on sintered ore, but had met with no immediate response from some people whose argument was that long years of experiments during the Japanese occupation had shown that sintered ore was not fit for smelting. Preliminary though not exhaustive tests after the liberation, too, proved these claims.

So it was taken for granted that any further attempt to use sintered ore would be useless. But Chou Chuan-tien thought otherwise. Knowing how much the successful employment of sintered ore would help the future development of Anshan, he insisted on a new test.

First of all, Chou Chuan-tien led his crew to study the causes of the failures in the previous experiments, and on this basis drew up a plan which everyone pledged to follow strictly throughout the new test.

As was expected, the experiment was fraught with difficulties. For a long time, the solution in the furnace was of a poor quality, and no tapping could be done. Chou Chuan-tien spent many a sleepless night figuring out the problem. Then one night as he was lying wide-awake in bed, he called to mind the conversation a Soviet expert had had with his crew at the furnace. Watching the

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progress of smelting, the Soviet friend, pointing to the slag, said, "Too much limestone. Must have caused you trouble, hasn't it?" The Soviet expert's opinion was soon forgotten by everybody, for at that time the use of slag of high limestone content had been considered a "successful experience."

Early the next morning, Chou Chuan-tien hurried to the works to tell his crew what he had remembered, and suggested to try out the Soviet idea. As there was no other solution, they all agreed.

The new process was put to the test. Morning and evening, Chou Chuan-tien stayed at the plant, checking the work of the smelters and seeking solutions for the knotty problems that came up one after another. The bell announcing the changes of shifts had lost its significance for the workers, who would not leave if things were not in good order.

Three months passed—months of tension and of triumph. The process was carried through. The tradition which had developed at the works and in people's minds in the course of many years was smashed. The experiment was crowned with success! Sintered ore could now be used to produce low-silicon pig iron which could be fed directly into open-hearth furnaces without passing through the active mixers. As a result, basic iron accounted for 90 per cent of the pig iron output in Anshan last year, compared with only 25 per cent in 1950.

Because of his outstanding achievements, Chou Chuan-tien was promoted to vice-director of Anshan's Iron Smelting Plant. He is proud of the task assigned to him by the people, arduous though it be. Reviewing the past and looking forward to the future, he pledges, under the leadership of the Communist Party, to rely still more on

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the workers, study advanced Soviet experiences and make still greater contributions to the industrial development of his country.

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KU FA-MING AND HIS COAL SHAFT

In a coalfield in Liaotung Province, Northeast China, two head frames tower over an ensemble of wooden flats. This is the construction site of two new shafts. Day and night, lifts are heard rumbling up and down the gaping pits; and carloads of rock, brick and machinery are seen racing back and forth along narrow-gauge railway tracks. Everywhere one hears workers talk about the future of their coal-pits:

"In a few years the pit will produce thousands of tons of coal a day."

"The output will equal that of the four mines of our colliery put together."

"Just think how many other new pits are now being built elsewhere in the country!"

Only two and a half years ago, the present construction site was a desolate expanse of grassland. In October 1950, there came a group of 120 youths, just graduated from a short-term course especially established by the colliery to train shaft builders. Immediately on their arrival they set to work and were later joined by many other workers. For them this work was completely new.

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Ku Fa-ming getting ready to go down the shaft

They had to grope for experience and deal with a lot of obstacles. But neither the torrents of water from the walls in the shaft nor dust from pulverized rock and smoke from explosions could dampen their enthusiasm.

After half a year, the shafts had been dug 70 metres deep. But the young workers were not satisfied. According to the original plan, it would take nine years to build the shafts and main haulages, and they were impatient to have the job done faster.

"We can't wait that long," 21-year-old Ku Fa-ming thought worriedly. "Our factories and furnaces are asking for more and more coal."

Ku's worries were short-lived. In March 1951, the Soviet "parallel working method" was introduced into the

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colliery. According to this method, the sinking and lining of shafts can be done simultaneously. In this way, the period of building the two shafts would be cut from four years to two.

"It's a good idea," the workers agreed enthusiastically. But when they tried it, they encountered a knotty problem: lining could be done much faster than sinking. The trouble lay with rock cutting. The workers were called upon to improve their drills.

After two months of trying out various methods, Ku Fa-ming succeeded in boring one-metre-deep holes with his improved drill. But even this he considered unsatisfactory, so on the third day of his experiment he tried to bore deeper into the rock.

The drill sank one metre deep, then 1.2 m., 1.5 m.... At this point, Ku brought the whole weight of his body to bear on the jackhammer, which shook violently in his hands. With bated breath, he stared at the hole in the making, from which the pulverized rock came flying.

1.6 m., 1.7 m., 1.8 m.—then a hissing sound. The drill jammed and stopped turning. Big beads of perspiration stood on Ku's forehead. Ku's assistant came up with a log and began to help him pull out the drill, but failed.

"Don't worry," Ku said smilingly to his companion. "This is only the beginning. Human will is stronger than iron and rock."

That day, the drilling brigade worked late into the night and cut about 130 holes. But of these, fifty could not be used to hold explosives, since each had a drill stuck in it.

In one of the rooms of the workers' living quarters, a light often burnt into the small hours of the morning.

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One could see Ku Fa-ming sitting at the table, bending thoughtfully over a drill, while his wife was sleeping. On evenings when she was out, the Communist Party organizer and the team leader would be there too, turning the drill over and looking through the air passage in it against the light, then engaging in eager discussion.

It was a sultry Saturday night. Ku Fa-ming was making spring coils with a piece of wire wound around his bruised forefinger. At midnight, his wife was awakened by a rapturous outcry.

"Wonderful!" exclaimed Ku Fa-ming, pacing up and down the room in great excitement. "This will certainly do the trick. Just put this in the bit and see if pulverized rock will fill up the air passage again!"

He did not get a wink of sleep that night. With the first streak of dawn, he got up and dashed to the construction site.

A group of workers gathered around Ku, watching admiringly his jackhammer in operation. The drill sank quickly into the rock to a depth of 2.4 metres and came out without a hitch. The workers applauded enthusiastically. Some hugged Ku, others snatched the spring coils and rushed away, shouting: "Hurray, the problem is solved! Let's try it, too."

Ku Fa-ming was invited by the trade union to report on how he had improved his tool. His method was then applied throughout the colliery. He was elected leader of a drilling brigade.

Good results followed immediately, sharply raising the efficiency of the rock-cutting work. While formerly it took more than sixteen hours to bore eighty holes and to fill them with explosives, the time now required for

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the same amount of work was reduced to three and sometimes even to two hours. Ku Fa-ming's drilling record rose to 4.7 metres. In comparison with the first quarter of 1951, efficiency in excavation work during the corresponding period of 1952 rose by 232 per cent for one shaft and 269 per cent for the other. This enabled the workers to apply the Soviet "parallel working method" and to extend the depth of a shaft 57 metres per month.

The two shafts were originally scheduled to be completed in October 1954. But thanks to the advanced Soviet method and to Ku Fa-ming's initiative, they were completed in August 1952!

Ku has since achieved further successes, after going to work at another colliery in Northeast China. The application of his drilling method, the good work of his team and the assistance given by Soviet experts have enabled him to set a new national record—a monthly progress of 75 metres in the sinking of a shaft.

What is behind Ku Fa-ming's success? To answer this question, it is necessary to know the young worker's life-story.

Ku was born in a peasant family in Hopei Province. At the age of thirteen, he and his father were sent by the Japanese invaders to the Northeast (Manchuria) as coolies and forced to haul coal in a colliery then managed by the Japanese imperialists. On the very first day, the boy collapsed after many hours' hard work in the pit and was carried out by an old miner.

"I won't go down to that hell any more," Ku Fa-ming pleaded with his father. But the following day he had to return to work, or else go hungry since his father's meagre wages could not feed two mouths. From then on, Ku's life became one of suffering and humiliation.

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Liberation put an end to this life of misery. The cruel foremen were dismissed. Under the care of the Communist Party, Ku Fa-ming, like all other workers, stood up and became master of his own destiny.

Knowing that he was working for the people—for himself—Ku Fa-ming adopted a new attitude towards labour. By learning hard from the older workers and developing his own creative power, Ku and his fellow workers became skilled in the technique of shaft sinking in less than two years. Formerly he cut rock with a primitive hammer and chisel. Now he can handle modern machinery.

With the increase of production, the workers' living conditions have improved. While he could barely keep himself going in pre-liberation days, Ku's wages now exceed 1,600,000 *yuan* a month. He and his wife need only one-eighth of his income for their monthly food expenses. With the balance, Ku Fa-ming has bought some nice furniture, a bicycle, a wrist watch and clothes—all within a few months. And there is still a large sum left over, which he deposits in the People's Bank.

After his shift, Ku Fa-ming and his fellow workers go to the bath-house and then to the medical centre for sun-ray treatment. He spends half an hour daily playing basket-ball which has become his favourite game. He also attends a spare-time school and can now read newspapers and write short articles.

In August 1952, Ku Fa-ming had a fifteen-day paid leave at the sanatorium in Mutankiang, where he gained five kilogrammes in weight.

Ku's success has not made him dizzy. He often says: "I feel I've done very little for my people. And there's so much to be done. I'll double my efforts and do my little bit to help industrialize China."

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THE GIRL AT THE SWITCHBOARD

The day shift had just begun at the Long Distance Telephone Exchange of the Tientsin Tele-communications Office. As usual, 22-year-old Kuo Hsiu-yun was at the switchboard right on time. She put on her earphones and began to operate the keys with her left hand even before she had time to sit down. The nimble motions of her fingers reminded one of a skilled pianist. There are quite a few things an operator has to attend to: calling, listening, operating the dial and the keys, connecting and disconnecting the circuits.... But to Kuo Hsiu-yun doing all this presented no difficulty. As though magically, the thick files of tickets on her board were quickly disappearing, while she kept herself well at ease all through her work. Whereas it took an ordinary operator on the average 237 seconds to connect a call, Kuo Hsiu-yun did it in only 81.78 seconds.

Kuo Hsiu-yun has been working at this exchange since 1945, when she was 15 years old. In the days of reactionary rule, she was looked upon as something of a robot, a part of the machine. Day in and day out she repeated the same mechanical movements at the switchboard and considered her work dry and dull. In fact, constantly

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Kuo Hsiu-yun, long-distance telephone operator, whose advanced working method is being popularized in 20 major cities of China

humiliated and threatened with dismissal, the girl had even begun to loathe her job. Moreover, meagre wages coupled with soaring prices made even a mere subsistence difficult.

After liberation, Kuo Hsiu-yun began to notice a new world about her. The gangmasters who had once tyrannized the workers disappeared. The new foremen, elected from among the workers themselves, showed vital concern for the interests of the workers. Whenever a problem arose, whether of administrative or technical nature, the workers were always asked to speak out their opinion. Prices became stable, and the workers' wages were constantly on the increase. For the first time, Kuo Hsiu-yun tasted the joy of living, and with it the joy of working.

In the winter of 1949, Kuo Hsiu-yun was given a chance to attend a short-term training course, where she acquired fundamental knowledge relating to the history of social development and Chinese revolution. She came to appreciate the meaning of labour and the noble responsibili-

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ties of the working class towards the society. It was not true, she realized, that the work of a telephone operator held no future, as she had always believed. Work that served the people was always valued highly by the people.

As never before, Kuo Hsiu-yun put her heart into her work. But at that time she still could not see any possibilities of going any farther than just connecting and disconnecting telephone circuits in the same old way. "If you're to create or invent anything," she thought, "you've got to have lots of theoretical knowledge. For an ignorant person like me, I don't think there's any sense in dreaming of such things."

Facts, however, gradually changed her ideas. After the liberation, countless numbers of model workers emerged from among the ranks of the ordinary working people, people who differed little from her either in age, intelligence or nature of the work they were doing. What really mattered, she found, was that these model workers, spurred by patriotism, had a will to conquer difficulties, to exploit every and all ways and means to produce more for the nation. So she decided that she could improve her work also if she only tried.

One day, a man asked to be connected with a leading cadre of a certain government office in Peking. Kuo Hsiu-yun kept trying for four days, but failed owing to some trouble with the latter's telephone. Filled with anxiety, the applicant pleaded:

"Comrade operator, mine's really a very urgent business call, but I'm too busy here to go to Peking personally. Can't you find a way out?"

Formerly, there was nothing unusual in that a call could not be put through for several days. But now things were different from what they had been. Kuo Hsiu-yun thought of the leading cadres of government organs who

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toiled day and night for the good of the people, of the serious effects that might be caused by failure to keep them informed in time. Urged by a strong feeling of responsibility, she racked her brains for a way out. At last, she succeeded in reaching the person called through another telephone at his office. The party calling up Peking could not thank her enough for her good service.

For a long time afterwards, Kuo Hsiu-yun kept reflecting on this incident. She realized more clearly than ever before that she was doing something really very important, something to be proud of. For years, her accordion had been her only joy in life. But now she was just as happy with her old, once thoroughly disliked companion—the switchboard.

In 1950, she was transferred to another position, responsible for passing and receiving calls to and from Shanghai. Traffic was much heavier here, and often more tickets piled up than could be disposed of. Kuo Hsiu-yun was greatly disturbed by this situation. At the end of each day, there always remained a few calls that had not been put through. As she cancelled or postponed these calls to a later date, the anxious faces of the callers would float before her eyes. She tried to work faster, but only made more mistakes. Once she was even criticized by an operator at the other end for her inaccuracy in timing conversations.

The cause of the error, she later found out, lay in the fact that there was no proper system worked out of timing conversations. So she began to pay particular attention to this matter. Every time after a call had been put through, she would keep monitoring over the line in order to calculate more accurately the time elapsed. This she managed quite well, but soon she encountered new difficulties.

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Kuo Hsiu-yun was in charge of four circuits. Important as monitoring over these circuits was, it was after all but a part of an operator's work. For instance, while monitoring over one of the circuits, she could hardly at the same time devote her attention to working on another circuit, such as putting through a long-distance call. She often felt lost, especially when signal lamps flashed angrily, demanding to be quickly attended to. "If I could only attend to two circuits at a time!" she was wrapped up with anxiety.

After many a sleepless night, Kuo Hsiu-yun recalled an incident.

It had happened some time ago. She was holding the key at the talking position to speak with a long-distance operator on the other side, when someone by her side suddenly asked her a question. Turning about to answer, Kuo Hsiu-yun operated another key to the monitoring position, meaning to cut off the connection with the distant terminal office. Strangely enough, however, she could still hear the voice of the other operator. This surprised her but she did not mind it very much then.

Moved by a desire to improve her work, she now began to ponder over the matter. "Doesn't this show that it is possible to do two different things simultaneously over two circuits?" she asked herself.

Her idea turned out to be practicable. With one key in the monitoring position and another in the speaking position, she found that she could put long-distance calls on one circuit and simultaneously monitor over another. Similarly, she saw that she could do other things while checking on the circuits by turn. Thus she got along with her work with far greater ease than before.

But Kuo Hsiu-yun was not satisfied with what she had achieved. She was now considering another problem: how

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to make the best use of the limited number of circuits in order to meet the demands of the growing traffic.

To achieve this, she decided to reduce the time needed to connect a call. Before putting a call through, she would first notify the operator on the other side of the calls coming after, so that after the connection had been completed, the latter, making use of the time when the conversation was going on, might get the next call through. Kuo Hsiu-yun then kept monitoring, and when she saw that the conversation was drawing to a close, she would make arrangements for the next call. In this way, calls were always promptly put through and followed one another without interruption. The circuits were no longer wastefully engaged by the operators, but were available to long-distance callers almost all the time—52 minutes out of every hour when three circuits were in operation!

Kuo Hsiu-yun is against everything that impedes the progress of work. She opposes operators who pay less attention to inward calls. These people care only for the narrow interests of their own office, since in the cases of inward calls, the charges are collected by the other side. Their reluctance to receive assignments, she considers, is a stumbling block to smooth tele-communications service.

Kuo Hsiu-yun holds that in the interests of the subscribers, the operators of both terminals should co-operate closely with each other. She always tries her best not to inconvenience the operator on the other side. Every time a call is over, she first turns the splitting key to the neutral position and contacts the other operator, and only then turns to the work left behind by the finished call. As a result, the operator on the other side seldom finds any difficulties in passing calls to her.

The whole nation followed Kuo Hsiu-yun's successes with keen attention. Her working methods have been sum-

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marized after three months of systematic study by the Ministry of Posts and Tele-communications and the National Committee of the Chinese Postal, Telegraph and Telephone Workers' Trade Union. Steps are being taken to apply her working methods to twenty tele-communications offices in the major cities of the country. It has been estimated that the adoption of Kuo Hsiu-yun's working methods by a long-distance telephone circuit will enhance its efficiency by 22.62 per cent, and consequently, if her working methods are applied on all the trunk lines of the country, the effect produced will be equivalent to that of a 22.62 per cent increase in the equipment of these lines. In other words, it will mean a saving of 387,300 million *yuan* in the state's expenditure for capital construction.

Kuo Hsiu-yun's brilliant achievements have won her the title of Model Worker, apart from bonuses. In October 1952, she was admitted into the New Democratic Youth League. Later, her fellow workers elected her member of the Administrative Committee of the Tientsin Tele-communications Office as well as chief of the Women Workers' Department of the Trade Union Council.

Kuo Hsiu-yun reports on her working method at a special national conference sponsored by the Ministry of Posts and Tele-communications

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Kuo Hsiu-yun has set a fine example to her colleagues all over the country, who are not only studying her advanced working methods but are also emulating her spirit of responsibility, her high enthusiasm for labour, her ardent desire to serve the people.

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TO BUILD MORE QUICKLY

In June 1950, a team of 21 masons headed by Su Chang-yu were working on a building site in Harbin, Northeast China. They had been assigned to construct seven houses in a couple of months, involving the laying of two and a half million bricks. This was a tough job to tackle, since only 14 of the team members were skilled workers who could at most lay 1,200 bricks a day, while the seven apprentices did not know the work at all. Other teams also lacked skilled labour. Thus, the construction company was confronted with the weighty problem of raising the workers' productivity and training apprentices to become skilled workers in the shortest possible time.

One day, Su Chang-yu attended a lecture on the Soviet sectional brick-laying method. He had but a vague idea of what the lecturer was saying. But there was one point which made a deep impression on him, namely, that a team could lay more bricks if that part of work which required less skill was done by the apprentices. When he came back from the lecture, Su Chang-yu told his fellow workers with great excitement about the new method. But many of them did not want to have anything to do with it.

"Been a mason for twenty years but never heard of such a thing," said Wang Tsing-shan, an old-timer. "Section

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Su Chang-yu (left) and his team at a construction site in Shenyang (Mukden)

or no section, bricks are just bricks and you can't make them walk up the wall anyhow."

"You young fellows are really hot-headed," another old worker chimed in, "always want to do the impossible."

Su Chang-yu wanted to argue with them, but his words were cut short by the long whistle which announced the end of the shift.

He was lost in deep thought on his way home, thinking not only of the new method, but also of his past. He recalled the ominous voice of the landlord whom he had served as a swineherd; the grin of the Japanese foreman who hurled him down from a scaffolding, letting him lie unconscious for two hours; the tears of his family when they learned that he had lost his job after V-J Day; his fruitless pleadings with a Kuomintang soldier who snatched away his axe and pole with which he had been cutting some wood, and rewarding him with a thrashing

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into the bargain; his narrow escape from conscription by a Kuomintang gang; and at last the radical change of his life after the liberation—a mason again at Penki, then under reconstruction, for the first time with enough to eat and wear and enjoying human rights. He recalled his promotion to team leader, his election into the management committee of the engineering group, the call on the workers to increase production by the People's Government, and the Party organizer's words that this call must be answered with a courageous struggle against conservatism. But now some workers didn't want to accept his proposal.

That evening, Su Chang-yu was sitting at the table from which the supper dishes had not been cleared away although it was long after. He was moving bowls, spoons and chopsticks here and there, as a boy does blocks.

Early next morning, he and his apprentice Kao Chen put their heads together and settled down to an experiment at 6:30. Instead of working in the customary way, Su only undertook to put up the guiding string and lay the bricks, leaving the other operations for Kao to do. At 10 a.m., the time for attending the literacy class, they stopped and counted the bricks they had laid. 3,700 in all, a number far exceeding the set quota!

Wang Tsing-shan, who had come up to observe the result, looked at the long, trim wall with blinking eyes and mumbled in an undertone: "Not so bad, eh?"

This success was, of course, but the first kick against the conventional method of brick-laying. In the following days, Su Chang-yu kept on with his experiments, and finally effected a more thorough division of labour among his team. Every brick-laying group contained four members: one skilled worker each laying the exterior and another interior bricks, one apprentice laying the bricks

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in the middle and the inner bricks and filling in the mortar, and another apprentice passing on the materials.

Good results were immediately obtained. Productivity rose first 50 per cent and later 128 per cent over and above the set quota, and with less intensity of labour too! Nor was this all. With bricks stuck fast together with more mortar, the walls erected stood as solidly as rocks. At the same time, the shortage of skilled labour in the building industry was thereby greatly relieved. Working side by side with his master, an apprentice could now learn his trade more quickly and be trained into a skilled worker in three months' time, instead of three years as was formerly the case. Through higher productivity, the building workers could also earn more on a piece-work basis.

Su Chang-yu's method was discussed by the trade union, and recommended to other building workers first in Harbin, then elsewhere in the country. It was further improved upon and developed by other advanced builders. What is more, it gave rise to a series of rationalizations in carpentry, white-washing and other branches of construction.

On April 18, 1952, on a building site in Peking several teams of brick-layers and carpenters were giving a technical demonstration before 500 spectators among whom were workers, technicians, architects, trade unionists, as well as representatives of the building industry of Harbin, Shenyang (Mukden), Tientsin, etc.

This demonstration might well be described as a drama in six scenes, each showing the rapid development in New China's building techniques during the past few years.

In the first scene, four skilled workers and four apprentices laid bricks in the old way. They moved up

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and down the scaffolding, now bending over the wall, then straightening up again. In the end, they registered a record of 2 bricks per minute per man, plus an aching back each and a lot of mortar wasted on the ground. This was followed by a demonstration of Su Chang-yu's new method, which marked a definite break with the old one. The team worked with ease and co-ordination. Its record was 4 bricks per minute per man and evoked a prolonged ovation among the spectators. Then a third team from Tientsin came upon the scene. With the help of a mortar-spreader devised by the young team leader Fu Hung-ping and working in a way slightly different from that of the second team, the masons could lay six bricks per minute per man. The fourth and fifth teams displayed what they could do with the mortar-spreader after it was twice innovated. Their records were 7 and 9 bricks!

The last scene showed Hsieh Wan-fu's famous method in carpentry. Inspired by Su Chang-yu's example, Hsieh Wan-fu had also effected a new division of labour among his team and raised its productivity 232 per cent. The performance was taken up by Chang Shih-chen's team. Chang himself had invented a marking machine, with which 11 carpenters could make a door-frame of 2.4 metres by 80 centimetres in one minute and 18 seconds!

What do all these performances signify? The answer may be provided by the following facts and figures:

According to preliminary statistics compiled early in 1952, if all these advanced experiences in building—worked out under the influence of Su Chang-yu's initiative—are adopted by 500,000 construction workers alone, the manpower saved in a single year will amount to 1,000 million standard work hours!

At present, these advanced experiences are being extended to all parts of the country through technical

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demonstrations, film shows and other means of publicity. By the end of last year 200,000 workers in 8,000 building teams were employing these new methods. In Tientsin, for example, a team of 8 brick-layers built 40 flats in 12 days by the new method, whereas formerly it would have taken 40 workers half a month!

To build more quickly does not only mean the saving of manpower. It also means that more workers will move earlier into their new apartment houses, that Chinese students will have more classrooms, more laboratories and more hostels, that machines will be installed more quickly in new workshops and thus turn out more products. Su Chang-yu and other building workers have, therefore, through their creative labour, made a great contribution not only to stepping up China's building industry, but the nation's construction and development as a whole.

For his outstanding service to the people, Su Chang-yu has received much commendation. He was elected a Model Worker, invited to Peking to attend National Day celebrations in 1951 and sent to Poland in 1952 as a member of the Chinese delegation attending May Day celebrations there.

Now Su Chang-yu attends a short-term secondary school specially set up for workers and peasants in North-east China. There, together with many other young model workers, he studies the Chinese language, arithmetic and other subjects of general knowledge to which the old society had denied them access. Su applies himself to his studies with the same burning zeal as he did for production. He stands ready to play a still greater part in China's peaceful construction, to help build his homeland into a paradise on earth for all to live in.

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INVENTOR OF A METHOD WIPING OUT ILLITERACY

In recent months, illiterates among China's people have been equipped with the Rapid Method of Learning Chinese Characters. This new method was devised not by a professor of linguistics, but by a young cultural rank-and-file worker of the People's Liberation Army named Chi Chien-hua. This new method enables an illiterate person (naturally only one whose mother-tongue is Chinese) to read popularly written books and to write simple sentences after only 150 hours of study.

Just What Is This New Method?

In writing Chinese, thousands of ideographs are used. There are many aids for memorizing these complicated structures, but all so far have relied on a great effort of repetition. According to the new method, the student starts by memorizing a set of 37 phonetic signs. A picture or a short story attached to each helps him accomplish this preliminary task in two days. The second step is to learn to use these phonetic signs. A combination of any two

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or three of them (which are divided into vowels and consonants) is able to give a close approximation of the sound of any ideograph.

In the second stage of study, the student begins to link up the phonetic signs with the actual characters. First he reads characters with the phonetic signs alongside them, and the teacher helps by explaining the meanings. The work goes extremely fast. A student is able to learn twenty and sometimes even more characters in an hour.

Then the students divide into small mutual-aid groups, and help each other repeat the words learnt. After repeating each word four or five times, the phonetic signs are removed, and they start to read the characters independently. Within 100 hours, they can learn to read 2,000 characters.

In the meantime, they learn to read textbooks, and in a total study period of 150 hours they learn to write the 2,000 words they now can read, and also to use a dictionary.

This method is especially adapted for the use of adults, since their ears are familiar with the sound of the characters they study and their eyes, too, know many of the characters. When the students learn to associate unfamiliar things with those which are familiar, the sound and sight of these characters impress themselves easily on their minds.

The Man Who Started It

Chi Chien-hua was born into a poor peasant family in Honan Province. Of his whole family only he and his mother escaped death through starvation. From early childhood

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"*Ah*" **Chi Chien-hua pronounces one of the phonetic signs, which adult students learn quickly with the help of the pictures accompanying them**

he toiled and struggled against the old society and its backwardness. At fourteen, he received his first lessons at a free night school in a neighbouring village and learnt the phonetic signs. He mastered them in a few nights and was able to read the primary school textbooks of the time within a month. Then he went on by making use of every spare minute. After wood-cutting, Chi Chien-hua would sit in a mountain cave and read an 8,000-word dictionary with the help of phonetic symbols. He went through it within 11 days and came fully to appreciate the use of the phonetic system.

Chi joined the People's Liberation Army in 1948. How often did he hear his comrades say: "To master the technique of modern warfare, we must raise our cultural level." Just at that time, a new comrade who knew only a few characters joined his unit; Chi started to teach him according to the phonetic system, and in ten days the man had learned about 500 characters, while formerly he could

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manage only three or four words a day. The Command of this people's army of culture quickly took note of the fact. Chi was made a full-time teacher, and conducted further experiments with other fighters. At the beginning of each experiment, however, he would be up against the novices' incredulity about his method.

"Learn forty characters a day? That's impossible," said Lu Kuo-ting, one of the soldier-students. "Words aren't water that we can drink at one gulp."

With much effort, Chi Chien-hua at last persuaded them to start with a list of 1,300 words in common use which he had selected. In a few days the students learned quite a number of them. "Almost unbelievable," Lu Kuo-ting exclaimed after he had attended the class for three days. "I really *drank* forty characters on the very first day, and on the second and third I took bigger gulps: sixty characters and eighty. I've become literate even before I know it!" Some more days later, Lu memorized the whole list of words and was found reading the magazine *Hero* with great gusto.

Later, many experts were assigned to help Chi Chien-hua perfect his method. At the second conference of educational and cultural workers of the People's Liberation Army in November 1951, this method was discussed and endorsed. It was then widely experimented on among workers and peasants, and the results proved equally successful. In Tientsin, for example, an experimental class was set up by the textile workers' union in January 1952. After 195.5 hours' study, the students had learnt an average of 1,589 characters. Another experimental class in Kaopeitien, a suburb of Peking, also reported that the peasant students had mastered 1,638 characters in 164 hours. Records achieved in all sorts of places showed that, by adopting the rapid method, the period for learning

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characters could be considerably shortened. With the characters learnt, the students could read popularly-written newspapers and magazines. Here is a letter written to Chairman Mao by a peasant after he had learned to read and write many characters by the rapid method:

"Long ago I wanted to say so much to you, and to ask after your health. But being illiterate, I couldn't write a single word. Now I can write you these few lines since I've learned more than 2,000 characters after attending a literacy class for only a short time. I'm sure you will share my joy. Our thanks to you for our cultural emancipation! I'll learn advanced agricultural techniques for increased production now that I've mastered reading and writing."

Significance of the Method

Ever since its establishment, the People's Government has paid great attention to raising the working people's cultural level. The Common Programme of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference provides that "universal education shall be carried out." Remarkable results have been achieved in this field. Statistics show that in 1952 over 3 million people were enrolled in spare-time schools for workers, and over 26 million in schools for peasants; another 42 million peasants attended winter schools in 1951-1952. In order to be able to absorb knowledge, the workers, peasants and soldiers have first of all to learn Chinese characters, which is no easy job. For this very reason, Chi Chien-hua's rapid method of learning characters has played an important role in the literacy campaign.

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In December 1952, the Central People's Government established a Working Committee for the Liquidation of Illiteracy, of which Chi Chien-hua is deputy chief. At present, branch committees have been set up in all administrative regions and major cities to wipe out illiteracy through this new method. Guides to the new method, textbooks and dictionaries are being printed in mass editions throughout the country.

Thanks to Chi's method, illiteracy has already been wiped out in the main among army units in East and Central-South China. Plans have been worked out to liquidate illiteracy first among the industrial workers, then among the young and adult peasants. For the Chinese people as a whole, the day is not far distant when illiteracy —a heritage from the old society—will become a thing of the past.

In recognition of Chi Chien-hua's great service, the Committee of Cultural and Educational Affairs of the Central People's Government awarded him a certificate of merit. At the ceremony, Kuo Mo-jo, Chairman of the Committee, described Chi Chien-hua's invention as "an invaluable contribution to the cause of the Chinese people's culture and education, as well as to our nation's construction."

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HOW HWANG JUN-PING MANAGES A WAREHOUSE

There is an old Chinese proverb: "Eminent men can come from all trades." But it was not until after the birth of New China that this proverb became a reality. Now it is a fact that workers in every line have every opportunity to develop their talents, even though their jobs might have been considered "unpromising" in the past.

Such, for example, is the case with Hwang Jun-ping of the North China Agricultural Machinery Factory in Peking, who recently initiated a new method of warehouse management, thereby saving our national treasury an enormous sum.

Though still in his twenties, Hwang has been a worker for over ten years. All through the years before the liberation, under the exploitation and oppression by Japanese invaders and Kuomintang reactionaries, he was driven from place to place, contenting himself with whatever odd jobs he could find by chance. But his life underwent a radical change soon after the liberation of Peking. He became a lathe-operator in the newly-established North China Agricultural Machinery Factory. Owing to his selfless labour, he was soon elected deputy leader of a work

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team that became later known as a model brigade. To top its renown, Hwang created a record by trebling the output of a spare part of an insecticide atomizer.

Last February, Hwang was promoted to vice-director of the factory warehouse. To him this was a completely new job, and he was really at a loss how to tackle it, since he did not even know how to keep accounts.

But he did not back out. From a talk with the Communist Party branch secretary he learned that a layman could train himself into mastery of any subject by relying on the masses. Hwang buckled down to learning from his fellow workers. When some materials and tools arrived at the warehouse, he would carefully watch how they were received and how their quality, standard and use were identified. He would often seek the advice of the treasurer when he found difficulties in bookkeeping. In this way, Hwang acquired the ABC of the professional skill he needed in three months. At the same time, things in the warehouse began to look up soon after he had taken over.

One day, Hwang joined his old mates in a workshop meeting. They were discussing their plans to increase production and practise economy. Hwang listened carefully to them and said to himself: "They really have an advanced and concrete plan. Can't we warehouse workers also map out our own plans and help the factory somehow in its production drive?"

When he came back, Hwang voiced this idea to his fellow workers in the warehouse. But many of them did not agree with him.

"After all, a warehouse is a warehouse," one demurred. "Its function is passive: to receive, keep and dispatch things."

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"Absolutely," another joined. "Our work is dull and dry. We can't create wonders here!"

But Hwang was by no means affected by this refutation. He continued to think: "Is it true that the function of a warehouse is merely to receive, keep and dispatch things? Even so we should, at least, try to do this in the most efficient manner."

It happened one day that the purchasing department of the factory delivered 60 kilogrammes of nails to the warehouse for keeping. There were already 170 kg. piled up in it. According to conventional practice, Hwang's duty was just to receive and store them away. But his high sense of responsibility forbade him to be indifferent to any waste. He thought it a crime to pile up stocks, especially at a time when the country needed to accumulate capital for large-scale economic construction.

This episode set him thinking. "The purchasing department should not buy anything without the consent of the warehouse!" was his conclusion at last. He voiced this opinion to the factory management in the form of a suggestion and it was readily accepted.

The warehouse manager Hwang Junping keeps close contact with the workshops, either through personal inspections or through the telephone

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After this, Hwang worked out a new advanced system of warehouse management which knocked down all conservative standards. Formerly, stock-piling was considered something inevitable. Things to be used at the end of a month were purchased as early as the beginning of the month, and laid up in the warehouse all this time. Under the new system, aimed at ensuring a quick turnover of the factory's capital, materials and tools are purchased and dispatched to the workshops several times a month, according to the exact date when they are needed. Thus, the warehouse becomes a transmitting centre where stores stay only for the shortest possible period.

Another feature of the new system is that the warehouse workers take the initiative in satisfying the requirements of production. Take coke, for instance. In the past, coke of various sizes lay mixed up in the warehouse, and the workers had to waste much time and labour before they could get the right size for any particular use such as larger lumps for casting shops, and smaller ones for forging shops. To overcome this shortcoming, Hwang led the warehouse workers to sieve the coke and to divide the coke up according to different sizes, so that they could always find the right size easily.

Before Hwang's new management method was introduced, the workshop workers had been unwilling to use second-rate materials and tools if they found better ones in the warehouse; and the warehouse attendants always provided them with what they asked for. As a result, second-rate materials and tools were piled up and remained unused for a long time, while first-rate ones were used in places where second-rate ones would have done equally well. Today, the warehouse workers recommend second-rate tools and materials and sometimes substitutes wherever possible to the workshops, with the result that production costs have been considerably cut down without

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lowering the quality of manufactured goods. At the same time, Hwang has made the best use of materials accumulated in the long-neglected "rubbish room" of the warehouse. Fine spare-parts have been carefully picked out and reassembled into perfect tools. Heaps of worn-out emery wheels have been turned into substitutes for emery; the annual consumption of emery is thus reduced by 60 per cent, which means a saving of 200 million *yuan* every year.

In order to make maximum use of materials, the warehouse is exercising unified control over the tool depositories of all workshops. Thus, tools in common use but not constantly needed by any single unit may be passed around, instead of lying idle in one workshop while they are urgently needed by another. This system of unified control has also the advantage of eliminating waste: For instance, workers in a lathe workshop where only 10-inch-diametre emery wheels are used will no longer throw them away when these wheels are ground to a diametre of eight inches as was formerly the case, but hand them over, through the warehouse, to some other workshop needing 8-inch-diametre wheels.

Of course, to put this system into effect, the warehouse workers must be familiar with conditions in the workshops, as well as with the quality and use of all materials and tools. Therefore, Hwang makes a point of inviting the workshop workers to the warehouse to give advice and explanations and examine stocks. Workshop workers are quite willing to help in this way since it means they can always get the proper materials and tools from the warehouse.

To serve the workshop better, the warehouse itself has effected a new division of labour by setting a specific task to each of the various sections.

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Under the new system worked out by Hwang Jun-ping, the warehouse has assumed a new character. "It's like a treasure house now," the workers say of their warehouse. There has been no more stock-piling in the warehouse since August 1952, and it has to a large extent assisted the factory in increasing production and practising economy.

Advanced experiences, in whatever field of work, spread like wild-fire in New China. So does Hwang's new warehouse management method, which is being adopted by all industrial, financial and transport enterprises throughout the country.

Hwang Jun-ping has become a well-known figure among the Chinese people, for his feat on the labour front and for his valuable contribution to China's build-up. The 2 million people in Peking are particularly proud of this labour hero and have elected him a member of their Municipal People's Government Council.

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A MODEL PEASANT TELLS HIS STORY

by Tsen Yueh-fang

I had heard quite a lot about Chen Yi-ko, the young model peasant from Kiangsi Province who had made his name in increased agricultural production. But it was not until he came to Peking recently, on his way to Vienna as a member of the Chinese delegation to the International Conference for the Defence of the Rights of Youth, that I had the opportunity to interview him.

About twenty-five years of age, Chen Yi-ko is not tall in stature. He has a plump, sun-tanned face, round smiling eyes, and the unassuming appearance typical of the Chinese peasant.

Chen was the leader of a mutual-aid team in Shanhsia village in his native province. Since its formation in 1951, his team had reaped good harvests, each one better than the last. In 1952, the team brought in an average rice crop of 721 catties per *mou*, about 62 per cent above the previous year's record. Even more striking was the fact that the output on Chen's own 4.1 *mou* jumped from 320 catties per *mou* in 1951 to 1,431 catties in 1952!

This was made possible by the untiring efforts of emancipated peasants led by the Communist Party and

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the People's Government. I came to appreciate the full meaning of this only after Chen had told me about the conditions under which his team worked.

"Our bumper crop was not bestowed by the bounty of Nature," Chen said very decidedly. The soil in Shanhsia village is poor and crop failures were frequent before liberation. Chen's 4.1 *mou,* for instance, were originally a piece of sandy land that yielded only 240 catties of rice per *mou* when it was in the hands of the landlord.

Nor is this all. Natural calamities had caused even greater trouble. Situated at the foot of a hill, Shanhsia village is surrounded by a river on three sides. When spring comes, the river overflows from heavy rains and causes serious damage to the crops. In dry seasons droughts are aggravated by the sandy soil which does not hold water.

However, things have become different. Natural calamities notwithstanding, the agrarian reform by confiscating the land of the landlords and distributing it among the landless and land-poor peasants aroused the latter's initiative and enthusiasm so that higher output was the result.

Chen Yi-ko, chief of a mutual-aid team known for its bumper harvests

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Chen Yi-ko told the inspiring story of how he led his mutual-aid team in the battle with Nature. Last year, a flood occurred after the spring sowing, and the turbulent waters came pouring in through a leak in the dyke built after the liberation. The sprouts in the paddy fields were in grave danger of being flooded. Chen, who was ill then, immediately led his team to stave off the danger. Fighting the raging flood for two days and two nights without a wink of sleep, they finally succeeded in stopping the leakage and saved the tender sprouts.

Summer was drawing to a close. The crops began to put forth fine, green ears. This time there was a great shortage of rain. Waterwheels were set in motion round the clock, but the river was running dry. The situation grew more serious all the time, but the peasants did not lose heart. Together with the inhabitants of the neighbouring village, they dug a sizable ditch which brought life-giving water to their thirsty fields.

Two or three months passed. The crops were ripening, and the peasants had set their mind at ease, looking forward to a secure harvest. Just then, a steady downpour of rain made the river swell again. Two-thirds of the land tilled by Chen's team remained inundated for over a month, and efforts to drain off the water were all in vain. Seeing the ripe crops in danger, Chen decided to snatch the harvest from the flood. Under his initiative, the whole team joined in, despite the chilly water which reached waist-high.

"We managed to rescue only half of our crop," Chen remarked, not without regret. "But still we reaped more than the previous year." His face was now lit in a smile.

Our conversation turned to another subject when I asked how his mutual-aid team had come into being.

The story dates back to 1951. In March of that year, Chen was elected a delegate to the Conference of Labour

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Models of Kiangsi Province. There, through reports made by government leaders and views exchanged with other labour models, he realized clearly which was the right path for the Chinese peasants to take. Land reform was but the first step towards prosperity. A far happier future lay ahead—the age of socialism, and in order to reach this goal, the peasants must organize for collective farming.

When Chen returned to his village, he found much of the land unploughed although it was high time for the spring ploughing. The reason was the peasants' lack in the means of production—an aftermath of years of famine prior to the liberation in 1949.

But the peasants found a way out after Chen had told them all he had learned about mutual-aid teams. After a few days of thorough discussion, they formed a "labour-exchange team" on a temporary basis. In this form of organization, the members helped each other as friendly neighbours, without payment in money or in kind. Draught animals and tools were lent by those who owned them. The borrower compensated the lender by contributing his manual labour.

This primitive form of mutual aid could not, however, fully meet the need of the poor peasants for a more rapid improvement in their livelihood. Nor did it encourage the more well-to-do peasants to invest more for expansion in production. The peasants soon became aware of the need to find a form of joint activity that would bring together for the benefit of all the small amounts of unused capital, the animals and equipment of the better-off peasants on the one hand with the unused labour of the poor peasants on the other.

Chen then explained to the peasants the more advanced type of mutual aid. The team members held full discussions and decided to develop a permanent mutual-aid team. In this type of organization, the work done by each member

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was remunerated to stimulate labour enthusiasm. Draught animals and farm implements were used in common, and any member who did not own them paid a flat fee in grain for each *mou* of land he owned, the fee going to the owner of the animals or implements in compensation for their use and upkeep. At times draught animals and equipment were bought outright by the team, each member paying a part of the cost proportionate to the amount of his land-holding.

The advantages of mutual aid stood out in bold relief at harvest time. As the peasants were organized, they could plan ahead of time. Working together, they were able to improve their farming techniques. For many of the team members, it was the first time their land was cultivated three times over and ploughed six or seven inches deep, something that would have been beyond their power when they worked all by themselves. The fields were better fertilized, and seeds more carefully selected. Above all, their united efforts did not leave the peasants helpless any longer in the face of natural calamities.

These convincing facts changed the views of sceptical peasants and the last of the individual peasants in the village applied for admittance to the team. In this way, Shanhsia village became a model for all others in Kiangsi Province to follow.

Chen's leadership was an important factor in welding the team members into unity. General membership meetings were regularly held where production plans, the remuneration of labour, patriotic pacts and other problems were discussed and agreed upon in a democratic way before they went into effect.

Chen never slackened his efforts to stimulate a sense of patriotism in the peasants. "Every grain of rice reaped will add to the strength of our motherland"—this was what

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he said again and again to arouse the peasants' enthusiasm. Consequently, his team always responded immediately to calls by the People's Government. It was one of the three mutual-aid teams in Kiangsi Province which first joined the nation-wide patriotic drive for bumper harvests in 1952. In the fall of 1952, the team completed the delivery of public grain within two days. Their plan to donate money to the volunteers at the Korean front, too, was overfulfilled 36 per cent.

Owing to his selfless work, Chen was twice elected model peasant. In April 1950, Chen joined the New Democratic Youth League of China. In October of the following year, he achieved the glory of being admitted to the Chinese Communist Party. These important events in his life gave fresh impetus to his endeavours in production.

"I just can't tell in words how much we owe to the Communist Party!"

In these words Chen expressed not only his own heartfelt gratitude to the Party, but that of the Chinese peasantry as a whole. And, as is the case with all the peasants in our country, the name of the Party is invariably linked to the significant change in his own life.

"I experienced everything—need, privation, toil," Chen said. "My father died when I was six, leaving my mother not a single inch of land. Since then, I had to support myself by tending cattle for other people. At eleven, I began the worst part of my life. My family then owed a landlord two and a half piculs of rice. As we couldn't afford to pay it back—not because the amount was too big but because the landlord wanted it that way—I was bound to hire myself out to him. For fourteen long years I slaved for him, right up to the time of liberation, but still we couldn't free ourselves of the debt."

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Recalling the past, Chen's otherwise warm and friendly eyes flashed with hatred for those who had robbed his childhood of all its joys.

"How about life in your village as a whole?" I asked.

"Everyone of us experienced the same fate. In those days, we could hardly keep body and soul together. We all subsisted on potatoes and wild vegetables, and hadn't enough rags to cover our bodies with. In famine years, we even resorted to bark and grass-roots."

Evidently embittered by these painful memories, he paused and remained silent for a while. But he soon brightened up again as he began talking about the present.

After successive bumper harvests, Shanhsia has become a thriving village where, as the village folks themselves put it, "every household has surplus grain and everybody wears new clothes." Grandma Tu has smilingly put on new clothing for the first time since she married sixty years ago. Many families have repaired their houses or built new ones. The village has accumulated joint property (draught animals, ploughs, waterwheels, etc.) in increasing quantities. The peasants are envious of their own children, all of whom are attending school.

"We grown-ups, too, have the opportunity to receive education now," Chen added. "A literacy campaign is in full swing in our village, and very soon everyone of us will be able to read and write. Our village regularly subscribes to five newspapers, including the *People's Daily*, which we read in groups every day."

"What are you most interested in when you read newspapers?" I interrupted.

"Well, current affairs, government policies, agricultural science—anything that has to do with our life and production work. But as peasants, we are naturally most con-

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cerned about the development of our country's agricultural economy. We are greatly inspired by the growth of agricultural producers' co-operatives and collective farms in our homeland.

"In October last year, with the help of the village government, we further developed our mutual-aid team into a co-operative by pooling our land and utilising it systematically. Since everybody's income depends now more on the amount of work he renders rather than on the area of land he has put into the pool we all are inspired with the greatest zeal. Labour productivity has risen considerably, and we have more extra manpower available for subsidiary occupations. With our increased income, we've bought a number of new farm implements. Besides, we're going to build a reservoir with drainage pipes and an engine-driven pump. Soon we'll be free from the threats of flood and drought.

"Of course, all this is but the very beginning of our happy life. Through newspapers and film shows, through reports from our peasant delegates who visited the Soviet Union, we've learned about the beautiful life of the Soviet collective farmers. We know we've still to go a long way. However, we hold our present life very dear because, as once oppressed and exploited people, we understand what a great price we've paid for it. For the same reason, we're deeply concerned with the struggle of the people of other lands who haven't yet secured a life as free and happy as ours. I'm very glad to have this opportunity to attend the International Conference for the Defence of the Rights of Youth. It's indeed a grand thing for young people from all over the world to gather and to discuss the most important issue of the day—peace and the rights of youth. For my part, I'll do my best to help the work of the Conference, in the name of peace and a better future of youth—for China and for the whole world!"

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YOUNG BUILDERS ON THE HUAI RIVER

Most visitors to the exhibition of the Huai River project, held last year at Pengpu, Anhwei, the railway centre whence the project is easily reached, stopped for a long time before a picture in colours. This picture showed a young worker talking to a peasant family, an old couple, their son and daughter-in-law and a little boy with a red scarf, probably their grandson. Holding in his left hand a newspaper describing the plan of harnessing the Huai River, the young worker waves his right hand as if to say: "Look, this is what the Huai River will be like!" Following the direction of his hand, the peasant family see a boundless stretch of wheat fields, with golden ears weighing down the stalks. Combines are harvesting in the faraway distance. The Huai is flowing calm and quiet, only disturbed here and there by a steamer whose stern makes the water foam above the crested waves. On the other bank of the river stand rows of factories, their tall stacks puffing heavy smoke.... The peasants are listening attentively, their faces wearing an expression of both astonishment and joy. They are obviously entranced with the prospects of the Huai River project, with the radiant future of their motherland.

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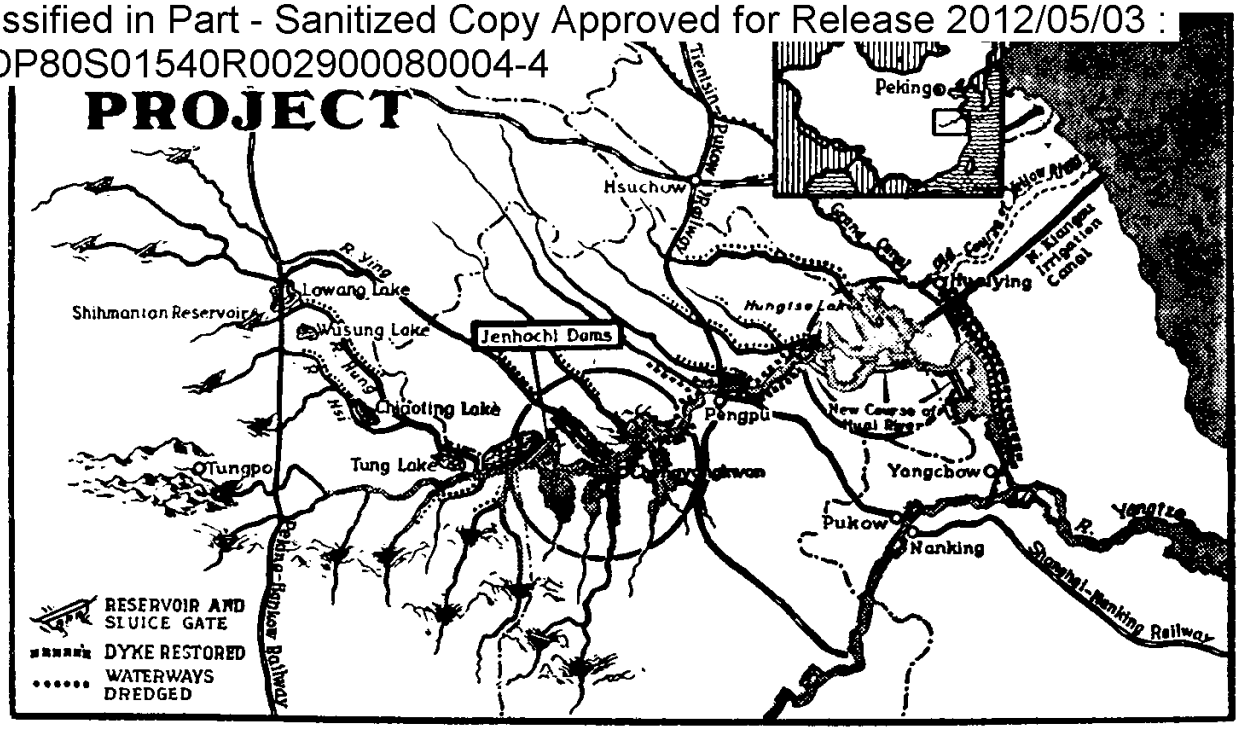

A Great Project to Conquer Nature

The project to harness the Huai River is indeed one of the great epics of modern times. When completed in 1955, it will have transformed nature and freed 60 million people living on the 210,000 square kilometres of the Huai River Valley forever from the threat of floods. About 3,300,000 hectares of farm land will be irrigated; navigation will be improved on 2,000 kilometres of inland waterways; and tremendous hydraulic power will be generated.

Such prospects have inspired the people of the whole country. In the first and second phases of the project (1951-1952), a total of 4,600,000 workers and peasants dedicated themselves to battling the calamities that were such common occurrences under the reactionary rulers of the past. Forty thousand non-technical government employees and 16,000 engineers and technicians also helped in this gigantic undertaking.

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Youth constitutes almost half of this mighty force. These young people, including hundreds of thousands of Youth League members, have played and are still playing an active role in the project, many of them having been elected model workers for their excellent performance. In the second phase of the project, young people constituted over 50 per cent of the workers cited for achievement; and 11,236 of these, or 31.5 per cent of the total, were Youth League members.

King Hsiu-lan, a Model for All River Tamers

Youth League member King Hsiu-lan is known as one of the initiators of the patriotic emulation drive now sweeping the length and breadth of the vast construction site. She is the daughter of a former poor peasant. In pre-liberation years, her family was driven into destitution each time when floods caused crop failure. Since the liberation, the life of her family has been improving all the time. In 1950, when Chairman Mao Tse-tung issued the call "The Huai River must be harnessed!" King Hsiu-lan responded immediately.

Once she led a brigade of peasant labourers to dredge a stretch of swamp more than 650 m. in length, 50 m. in width and 5 m. in depth. How could this be done when the bog would hardly bear a person's weight, let alone someone carrying a load? At first, logs were laid down for the diggers to walk on, but they would give very soon too. Then mats were tried, but they would not do either. Yet all these failures could not dampen the spirit of the workers. Following King Hsiu-lan's initiative, they experimented in all sorts of ways, pledging not to leave the construction site until the 351,000 cubic metres of mud were dredged from the swamp. Finally they succeeded by using

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bundles of reeds, which floated more readily than any other available material.

This method was immediately popularized among the 15,000 people engaged in dredging the swamp, and many of them were able as a result to double their labour efficiency. This was no small success. Originally the dredging project required 1,170,000 work days, as each worker could excavate only 0.3 cubic metres of mud per day. Now the average daily record rose to 0.75 cubic metres, so that a total of only 468,000 work days would suffice. In other words, the 15,000 workers would need 702,000 work days less than originally estimated!

"Drops of Water Make an Ocean"

The Huai River project involves millions of cubic metres of earth to be excavated. As machines are not yet widely used on the site, excavation has for the most part to be done with spades. It would seem that digging, carrying, loading and unloading earth are very simple operations. This may be true if a peasant is digging a small ditch by himself. But when it comes to collective labour, when hundreds of thousands of men are engaged at the same construction site, when canals have to be excavated and hills levelled, then even such work becomes a highly complex process. The scientific division of labour is required, and every single minute of work-time saved by an individual counts.

"Drops of water make an ocean," was the slogan of Chu Huai-shun, a young brigade leader. He gave much thought to improving working methods, combining the experiences of other brigades with those of his own, and popularizing them far and wide. By careful observation and conscientious study, he worked out a series of methods

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Chu Huai-shun, whose digging method has been widely adopted among navvies on the Huai River Project

according to which a few seconds could be saved in every operation or movement. But what a huge amount of labour was saved when these few seconds were multiplied with the number of people engaged in these operations! By adopting these methods, Chu's own brigade consisting of 20 members nearly doubled its excavating efficiency. It was estimated that when these methods were adopted by all the navvies on the Huai River, it would mean the excavation of an extra 617,100 cubic metres of earth every day, or the saving of 15,950,000 work days by 1,100,000 men in the spring of 1952!

In the Thick of Battle with Floods

The blind forces of Nature do not yield to Man's will readily. As if in conspiracy with the river, torrential

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rains often swell into floods that threaten to break the dykes. So the river tamers have to be especially vigilant in wet weather and be ready for a fierce battle in case of an emergency.

On March 29, 1952, it rained cats and dogs when a dam was going to be completed on the Pangchiao Reservoir. Work was done more intensely than usual, lest a flood should wash down from the mountains and break the cofferdam on the water detention basin.

In the white mist formed by the heavy rain, a black figure was vaguely seen moving to and fro on the dam. It was young peasant Chiao Chih-ping on sentry duty. All the time, his anxious gaze was fixed on the ripples and waves on the surface. Should a leak occur in the dam, the unfinished dam might be washed away and the labour done by 40,000 men in half a month be set at nought.

Dusk was falling. The young sentinel was even more on his guard. With no time for changing clothes or eating for a whole day, he was drenched to the skin and shivering with cold and hunger. At midnight, he found the water level rising and the rock above the surface quickly submerged. A splashing sound came from below. In the dark he saw a white column issuing from the outer part of the dam that was soon growing into a wide sheet.

"A leakage!" was the dreadful thought that flashed through Chiao's mind. He rushed down with a sackful of sand and earth which he had prepared beforehand. He stuck it into the hole and then pressed his own body against the gushing water, but the torrent knocked him down. He struggled up and dashed toward the construction site to get help. In very short time, people swarmed over the danger spot, with Chiao at the head. Buckets of earth were thrown into the leakage. By the crack of dawn, the intractable water was subdued. Building work was resumed and completed in time.

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Young Workers and Technicians

The Huai River project naturally involves also an enormous industrial undertaking. It requires huge sluice locks, concrete and steel bars, rail-tracks, pumps, generators, boring machines, etc. All these materials, which weigh hundreds of thousands of tons, are supplied by China's cities near the construction site as well as far away from it. When workers in Shanghai or Taiyuan receive urgent orders for machinery, they always fulfill them on time or even ahead of schedule. Others come to the Huai River from all corners of the country, under the slogan: "Support to our peasant brothers!", transporting needed materials by railway or boat, installing electric wires on the construction site, setting up repair shops in the valley, or working day and night on bulldozers or suction dredges.

Take, for instance, the Futseling Reservoir on the Pi River, one of the largest tributaries of the Huai in the middle reaches. A multiple arch dam, 516 metres long and 74 metres high, is being built across the Pi River where it flows between two mountains, cutting a gorge 200 metres wide. The reservoir, when completed this year, will enclose an area of 23 square kilometres and be capable of holding 500 million cubic metres of water. A project like this naturally calls for the most advanced technical standards. The calculations and designs required punctilious precision; but they were chiefly the work of Tsao Tsu-sheng and Wang Ming-lien, two young technicians not long out of college. Drawing on advanced Soviet experience and through persistent research on their own, they have already proved themselves promising specialists in water conservancy. In fact, the Huai River is a great school for many young Chinese workers and technicians. In early 1952, when construction started on the Futseling

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Reservoir, there were only about 1,000 technical workers. A year later, over 2,400 newly trained workers joined. Among them was a boring team consisting of nine girls between 18 and 23 years of age, the first women's team of this sort in China. Young People's Liberation Army men have stacked their rifles to take up pneumatic drills on the Huai project. And young peasants have learned to handle concrete-mixers, drive tip wagons or lay rail-tracks. This is the new personnel handling 210 machines of over 30 different types!

The workers are learning new techniques and inventing new ways of doing things all the time. One team improvised a shift for sorting stones and thereby increased labour efficiency from 0.55 cubic metres per work day to 1.17 cubic metres. Pneumatic drill operators have saved the country 900 million yuan by utilizing 100,000 waste bits.

Fruits of Labour Already Seen

It was through this boundless creativeness and labour enthusiasm of the river tamers that the first two phases of the project were successfully completed by July last year. The tremendous achievements to date include: dredging of the channel of the Huai and its 70-odd tributaries for a total length of 2,880 km.; repairing of 2,193 km. of dykes; excavation of the North Kiangsu Irrigation Canal, 170 km. long, and open for navigation by 900-ton steamers; building of a 561-metre movable dam at Jenhochi; three gorge-type reservoirs; 15 low-land flood detention basins; and more than 130 culverts.

The work of the first two years of the Huai project involved the digging of 487 million cubic metres of earth—equivalent to two Panama Canals and one Suez Canal.

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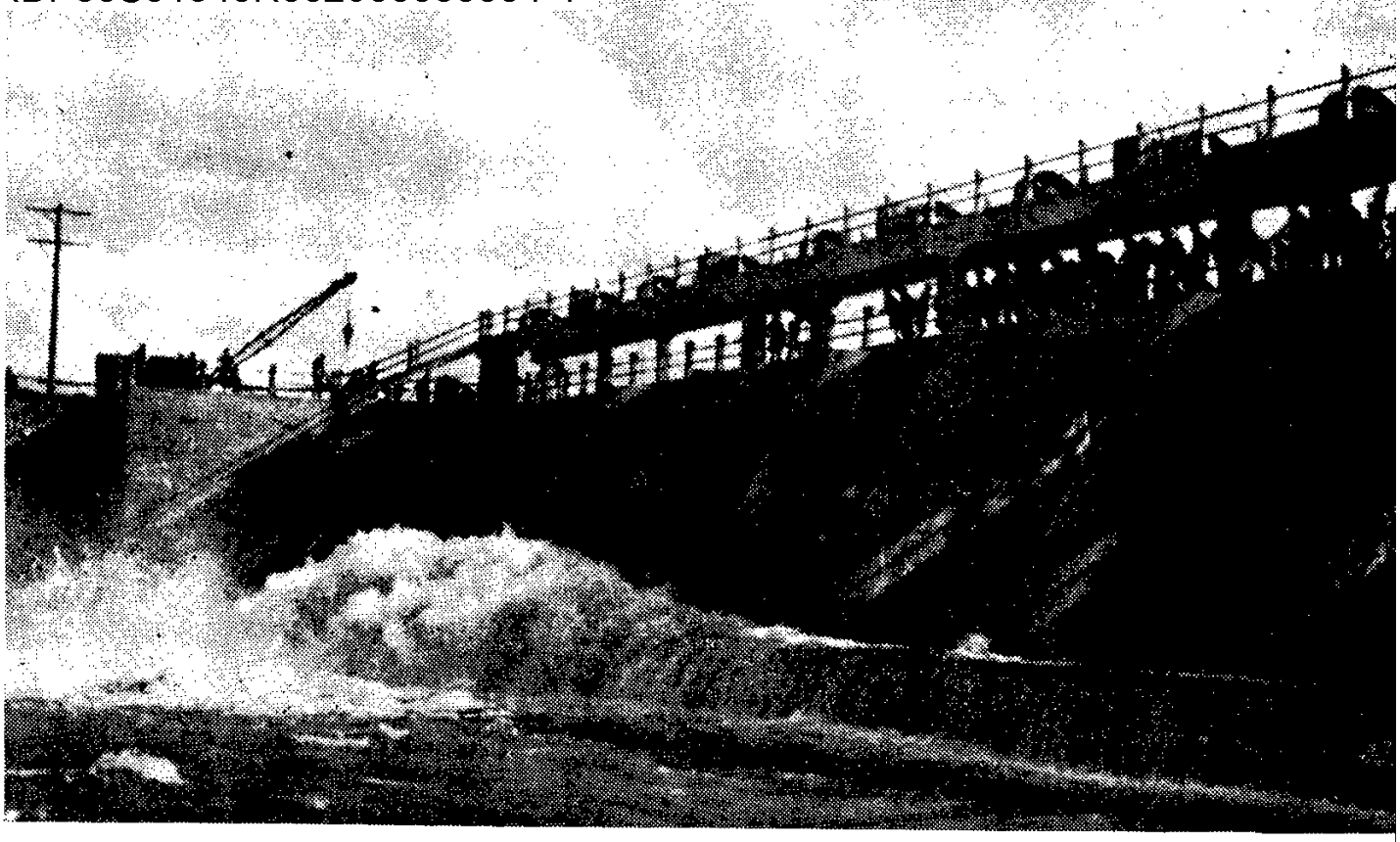

Through the Yuntung Dam, the water of the Grand Canal flows into the North Kiangsu Irrigation Canal, which will assure the regular supply of water for 1,720,000 hectares of rice and cotton fields

Already the Huai River Valley is changed beyond recognition. Hundreds of thousands of once flood-stricken peasants are now settled happily in new locations and have begun a new, prosperous life. Starting with the spring of 1951, each year has brought them bigger bumper crops, such as they never had before. In this one area with a total rural population of 18 million, the peasants harvested in 1951 1,650,000 tons of grain more than they had in the preceding year.

Their labour having been richly rewarded, the river tamers are now undertaking the third stage of the project with fresh vigour. This is on an even more colossal scale. Guided by a government of their own, the people of China are confident of their future, a future like that depicted in the exhibition on the Huai River project.

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LA JEUNESSE DU MONDE

chante

IVe FESTIVAL MONDIAL

de la Jeunesse et des Étudiants pour la Paix et l'Amitié

Bucarest · Août 1953

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Marche de la Jeunesse Mondiale

Paroles
A. Geoffroy-Dechaume

Musique de
A. Novikow
Arrt de Julien Porret

Tempo di Marche

f Mineur

mf

1. U - ne seule es - pé - ran - ce Nous rassemble et nous dic - te sa loi
2. Tous en no - tre mé - moi - re Nous gar-dons une em-prein-te de feu
3. Peu im - por - te nos â - ges A l'ap - pel du de-voir nous pres-sant

Et sur cette es - pé - ran - ce Nous a-vons é - ta - bli no - tre
De nos morts la vic - toi - re Notre u-nion, nos ef-forts, sont l'en-
Fiers de notre hé - ri - ta - ge Prix de tant de ter-reur et de

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foi Tous les pa - ys du mon - de
jeu Et du fond de la ter - re
sang Nous gagn' rons la ba - tail - le

En leur lan - gue ré - pon - dent: Par la jeu - nes - se
Se joi - gnant à leurs frè - res Ils crient: JEU-NES-SE!
Et le mon - de tres - sail - le Oui, la jeu - nes - se

Vient la pro-mes-se D'un a - ve-nir meil - leur.
Tient ta pro-mes-se D'un a - ve-nir meil - leur.
Tient sa pro-mes-se D'un a - ve-nir meil - leur.
Nous vou-

f

REFRAIN

lons chas-ser la hai-ne pour tou-jours, pour tou-jours, pour tou-

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jours Et ban-nir la peur, la guer-re sans re-tour, sans re-

tour, sans re-tour Oui, nous al-

lons don - ner aux peuples le bon-heur Et bannir la peur, la

guer-re sans re-tour, sans re-tour, sans re-tour.

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Vorwärts zu den 3. Weltfestspielen
der Jugend und Studenten für den Frieden

Freundschaft, Einheit, Frieden

Text: Keller — Musik: Asriel

a E7 a E7 a D

1. Freundschaft, al - len Völ-kern Freundschaft, ruft die Welt aus ei - nem
2. Ein - heit, un-serm Vol - ke Ein - heit! Ein - heit dämmt den Wel-ten -
3. Frie - den, al - len Völ-kern Frie - den, ruft die Welt aus ei - nem

G g C F d C D7

Mund. Freundschaft wol-len al - le gu - ten Men-schen auf dem Er - den -
brand. Ein - heit wol-len al - le gu - ten Men-schen für das deut-sche
Mund. Frie - den wol-len al - le gu - ten Men-schen auf dem Er - den -

G C d G C d G C G7

rund. / Land. / rund. } Wir ru-fen { Freundschaft! Ein - heit! Frie - den! / Freundschaft! Ein - heit! Frie - den! / Freundschaft Ein - heit Frie - den } wer-den wir er -

C a f C a d G C d G C G7

rin-gen, wenn wir fest zu - sam-men - stehn. Sin - gen soll die Hei-mat,

C a G C D G g C7

sin - gen! Un - se - re Frie-dens-fah - nen wehn. Spiel und Schlaf uns-rer

F g C7 F D7

Kin-der soll uns kei - ne Bom-be zer - stö - ren! Schwö-ren wir auf die

3.den

G D7 G C d G

Freundschaft, / Ein - heit, / Frie - den, } wird uns un - ser Deutschland ganz ge - hö - ren. { Freundschaft! Ein - heit! Frie - den!

C d G C G C a f C a d G C

Freundschaft! Freundschaft / Ein - heit! Ein - heit / Frie - den! Frie - den } werden wir er - ringen, wenn wir fest zusammen-stehn!

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Prèciser quel prix a reçu la chanson au Festival
Chant de la jeunesse allemande primé au Festival de Berlin

Musique: Asriel
Texte: Keller

Amitié, Unité, Paix

Amitié, à tous les peuples, Amitié
Crie le monde d'une seule voix,
Amitié à tous les braves gens.
Au monde entier.

Refrain:

Nous appelons: Amitié! Amitié!
Nous gagnerons l'amitié,
Si nous serrons ferme nos rangs
Chanter ce que notre Patrie chante.
Notre drapeau de la paix flotte
Qu'aucune bombe ni distraie
Le sommeil et le jeu de nos enfants!
Jurons sur l'amitié que l'Allemagne
Nous appartiendra toute
Nous appelons Amitié! Amitié!
Nous gagnerons l'amitié
Si nous serrons ferme nos rangs.

Unité! A notre peuple Unité!
L'unité apaise le feu du monde
Tous les braves gens veulent l'unité.
Tout le peuple allemand.

(Au refrain)

Paix! Tous les peuples veulent la Paix
Crie le monde d'une seule voix
Paix, veulent tous les braves gens.
Dans le monde entier.

(Au refrain)

Note: Au refrain, remplacer chaque fois „Amitié" par „Unité" dans le 2ème refrain et „Paix" dans le 3ème refrain.

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Chanson ayant obtenu la 2ème prix au concours du Festival de Berlin

Au rendez vous de nos vingt ans

Texte d'Henri Bassis — Musique de Jean Wiener

Tempo de Marche

Bb Bb

1. De-bout, de-bout! En-fants de Fran-ce! Il faut s'u-
2. C'est a Ber-lin qu'on tue la guer-re Tremblent tous
3. Il y a pla-ce dans le mon-de Pour tout le
4. Le blé fleu-ris-se jus-qu'au pô-le, Qu'ex-plo-se

Steh auf, steh auf! Ju-gend von Frank-reich, die Prü-fung

Bb Eb Bb Bb Eb

nir, il faut s'ai-mer Nous som-mes ceux de l'es-pé-
ceux qui nous trom-paient Tom-beau des mon-stres de na-
mon-de re-u-ni... Et dans la ron-de, nous ré-
la gé-o-gra-phie qu'en plein dé-sert, D'un coup d'e-

kommt und die be-steh'. Geh Arm in Arm, Hoff-nung von

Eb Bb A

ran-ce Ceux qui dés-ar-ment les ar-mees Nous som-mes
guè-re La ci-ta-del-le de la paix L'é-té ruis-
pon-dent nos frè-res noirs de Vir-gi-nie Et côte à
pau-le Leve un jar-din comme un dé-fi Nous a-vons

Frank-reich, ent-waff-nen wolln wir die Ar-me, wir sind ein

D gmin.

ceux du plus grand nombre, De tous les coins de l'ho-ri-
sel-le de jeu-nes-se, Drapeaux au vent, le cœur bat
côte en-semble e-xis-tent Et l'une et l'au-tre se ma-
tant et tant à fai-re, Met-tre la ter-re sur ses

Teil der gro-ßen Mehr-heit. Aus sie-ben Win-den rücks her-

gmin. A D gmin.

zon, Plus claires que sour-ce du creux de l'om-bre, Plus fort que
tant Et tout con-ju-ge la pro-mes-se Du ren-dez
rie Mos-cou, la vil-le so-cia-lis-te Pe-kin, New-
pieds. Tout le bon-heur, c'est notre af-fai-re, Le monde en-

an. Ihr, die der Mensch-heit hell-kla-rer Geist seit, zer-brecht die

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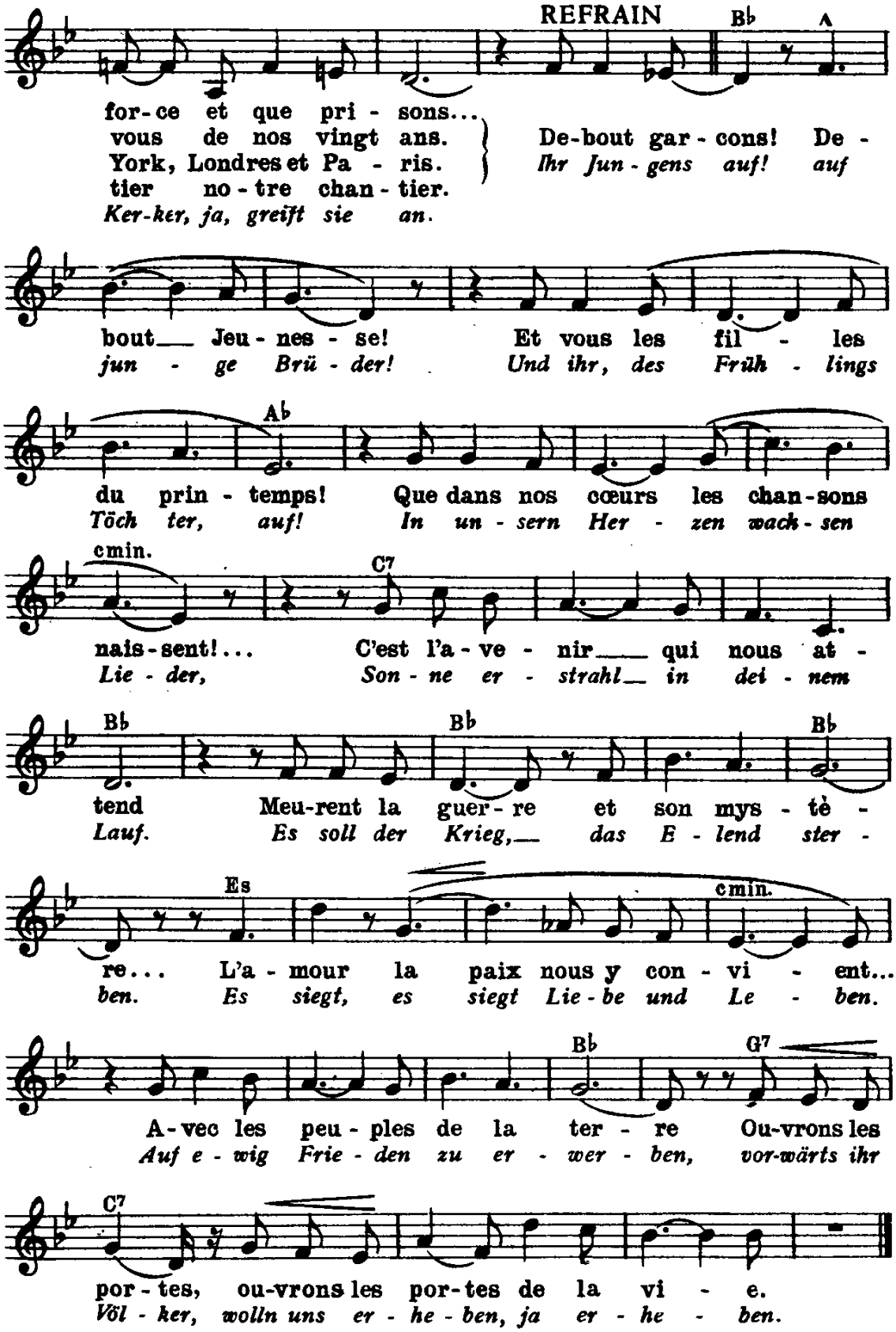

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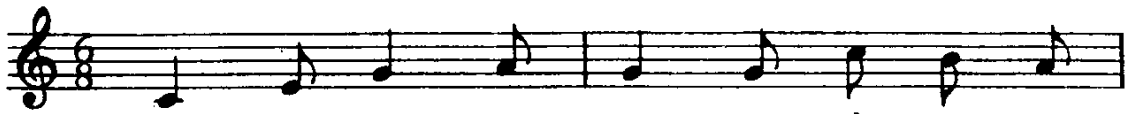
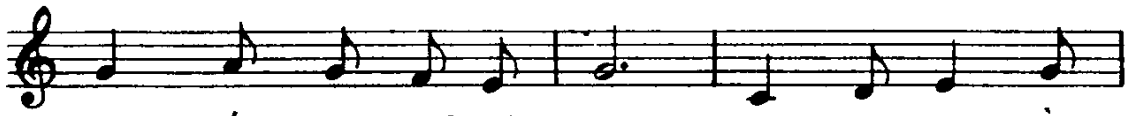
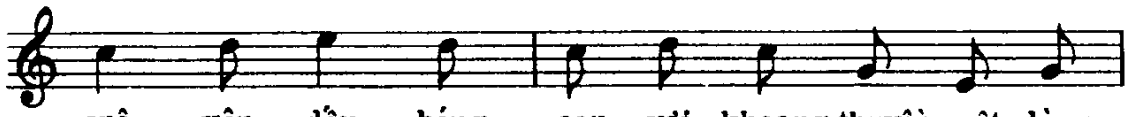
Làng tôi



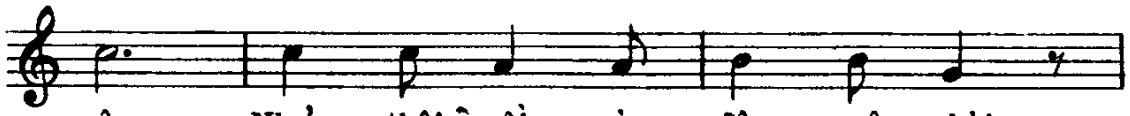
Làng tòi xanh bóng tre, từng tiếng chuông ban
Chiêù khi quân Pháp qua, chiêù văng tiếng chuông
Ngày diêt quân Pháp tan, là lúc tiếng chuông



chiêù, tiếng chuông nhà thò rung. Dòi đang vui đồng
ngân, phá tan nhà thò xưa. Làng tôi theo đoàn
ngân, tiếng chuông nhà thò rung. Làng tôi cùng đoàn

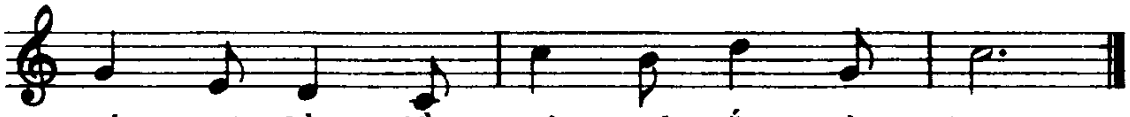


quê yêu dấn, bóng cau vòi khoang thuyền, môt dòng
quân du kích cướp ngay súng quân thù tra' thù
quân chiến thắng đánh tan lu quân thù về làng



sông. Nhưng thôi rồi, còn đâu quê nhà!
xưa. Bao căm hờn từ xa quê nhà.
xưa. Dân từng bừng chăt tre bắc câù.

Ngày giăc Pháp tới làng triêt thôn. Dường gặp bao xương
Rừng chiêù nhớ cánh dống chiêù xưa. Từ xa quê trong
Dào hào đắp luy xây hàm sâu. Giăc chưa tan, chiến



máu tòi bòi, đồng không nhà vắng tàn hoang.
lớp cây già, lông quê còn thấy buôn đau.
đấu chưa thôi, đồng quê chào đón ngày mai.

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Mon village

Mon village avec ses bambous verts où dans le soir s'égrenaient les sons des cloches. les cloches de l'église qui sonnent . . . la vie était en pleine joie dans nos champs bien aimés, sur notre rivière où se réflétait l'aréquier et la nef d'un sampan.

Mais tout est anéanti, rien n'est reste de ma terre natale. Un jour, des pillards français sont venus raser le village, devaster les hameaux. Les routes étant jonchées de tant de sang, de débris de chair et d'os; les ricières sont desertes, pas une âme dans les maisons abandonnées.

Depuis le soir où les troupes françaises passaient, les soirs sont absents des sons des cloches, l'ancienne église était complètement détruite.

Mon village s'est joint aux partisans, prend ses armes à l'ennemi même pour venger les morts d'antan. Depuis le jour où nous sommes contraints d'abandonner notre terre natale que de haine et de colère s'est accumulée dans mos cœurs. Le soir, dans les forêts, nous souvenons des soirs sur les rizières d'antan.

Depuis le jour où nous abandonnerons notre village perdu dans les banians séculaires, la nostalgie de la terre natale chaque jour etreint nos cœurs.

Le jour où nous avons anéanti l'ennemi, ce fut le jour où ségrenaient les sons des cloches, où tintaient les cloches de léglise.
Mon village, les habitants de mon village, ensemble avec les partisans victorieux mettront l'ennemi en piéces et rentreront au village d'autrefois. Le peuple en liesse abattrait les bambous, édifierait les passerelles, creusera les fossés, élèvera des murailles, construira des abris souterrains profonds. L'ennemi n'est pas encore complètement détruit, la lutte n'a pas encore cessé, le village natal va au devant de l'avenir heureux . . .

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МАРШ СОВЕТСКОЙ МОЛОДЕЖИ

Ся. Е. Дояматовского

Муз. С. Туликова

Жизнерадостно с энергией

f

Один.

Мы жи-вём под солн-цем зо - ло-тым, дру-жно жи-

вем. Мы гор-ды о - те-чест-вом сво-им,

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любим свой дом. Мы гор-ды о - те-чеством сво-им,

все пу - ти от-кры-ты мо - ло-дым. Свет-лы-е кра-я

ро - ди-на мо - я всю-ду у те - бя друз-ья.

sfp

Торжествующе
Припев (все)

Мы все за мир! Клят-ву да-ют на - ро-ды:

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Мы все за мир! Пусть зе-ле-не-ют всходы.

Мы все за мир! Ре - ют зна-ме - на сво-

бо - ды. Мо - ло-дость цветет, мо - ло-дость зо-вёт,

для повторения | 2. для о кончания

мо - лодость и-дет впе- ред! ред!

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Cette chanson a reçu le premier prix au Festival Mondial de la Jeunesse et des Etudiants pour la Paix, de Berlin 1951.

par C. Tulicov.

Marche de la jeunesse sovietique

Nous vivons sous le soleil d'or,
Nous vivons en amitié,
Nous sommes fièrs de notre pays
Nous aimons nos maisons.
Nous sommes fièrs de notre pays,
ou toutes les voies sont ouvertes aux jeunes
Le paysage est clair, mon pays,
et tu as des amis par tout.

Nous tous pour la paix:
C'est le serment des peuples
Laisser verdir les semences,
Nous tous pour la paix:
Laisser flotter la bannière de la liberté —
Nous tous pour la paix:
La jeunesse fleurit,
La jeunesse appelle,
La jeunesse avance:

Travail en paix, printemps bruyant
Dans notre pays,
Jeunesse forgée pour la lutte dure
Dans un feu brûlant,
Jeunesse forgée pour la lutte dure
n'a pas besoin d'une guerre,
Le paysage est clair, mon pays,
et tu as des amis partout.

au refrain:

La jeunesse porte dans son cœur
L'amour de son guide,
C'est Staline qui nous conduit
La bonne route vers l'avenir.
C'est Staline qui nous conduit
pour édifier le communisme,
Le paysage est clair, mon pays,
Et tu as des amis par tout.

au refrain:

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Freedom on the Wallaby

Song of the Australian Youth

Words by Henry Lawson — D. M. Jacobs

Iveri deliberately

A CHORUS

Piano

1st & 2nd time: Aus - tra-lia's a big coun - try an'
last time: So, we must fly a re - bel flag as

free-dom's hump-in' blu-ey — an free-dom's on the wal - la - by oh
oth - ers did be-fore us — and we must sing a re-bel song and

don't you hear her coo - ce? — She's just be - gun to boom-er - ang, she'll
join in re - bel cho - rus. — We'll make the ty - rants feel the sting of

knock the tyr - ants sil - ly — she's going to light a - noth-er fire and
those that they would throt-tle — they need - n't say the fault is ours if

End B SOLO

boil a - noth-er bil - ly. — 1. Our fath-ers toiled for bit-ter bread while
blood should stain the wat-tle. — 2. Then free-dom could not stand the glare of

loa - fers thrived be - side em, — but food to eat, and
roy - al - ty's re - gal - ia, — she left the loa - fers

clothes to wear their na - tive land de nied 'em, — and
where they were and came out to Aus - tra - lia. — But

so they left their na - tive land in spite of their de - vo - tion — and
now a - cross the might-y main the chains have come to bind her. — She

back to A

so they came (or if they stole, were sent) a - cross the o - cean. —
lit - tle thought to see a - gain the wrongs she left be-hind her. —

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Chanson de la Jeunesse Australienne.

La liberté en marche

L'Australie est un grand pays et la liberté approche,
Et la liberté est en marche. Oh! ne l'entendez-vous pas qui appelle ?
Elle vient de recommencer la lutte, elle abattra les tyrans,
Elle allumera une nouvelle flamme, et fera éclater une nouvelle révolte.
Nos pères ont peiné pour un pain amère, tandis que les fainéants faisaient fortune à coté d'eux.
Mais leur pays ne leur donnait ni nourriture, ni vêtements.
Ainsi malgrès leur patriotisme ils ont quitté leur terre natale.
Et sont vennus (où, s'ils ont volé, ils ont été envoyés) en traversant l'océan.
Ainsi que d'autres l'ont fait avant nous
Nous devons lever le drapeau révolutionnaire
Et nous devons chanter une chanson révolutionnaire et nous unir dans un cœur révolutionnaire.
Nous ferons sentir aux tyrans le dard de ceux qu'ils voudraient étrangler,
Ils ne devront pas dire que la faute est à nous si le sang va tâcher les mimosas.
Alors la liberté n'a pu supporter l'éclat de la royauté
Elle a laissé les fainéants là où ils étaient,
Et elle est venue en Australie.
Mais maintenant les chaînes ont traversé l'océan puissant afin de la ligoter.
Elle n'avait pas cru revoir les maux qu'elle avait laissés derrière elle.

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Danemark

Moderato e risoluto

1. Ver - dens ung - dom kæm - per for fred,
2. Al - le un - ge, rejs jer, kom med,

mf

en - hed er vort værn mod had og vold, sam-men ej - er vi
frem-ad for en frem-tid, lys og rig! Rab det ud o - ver

he - le ver - den, li - vet kal - der og vi går med.
al - le Lan - de: Vi er ung - dom-men, vi vil fred!

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Kri-gen knuser vi, li-vet må sej-re, in-tet standser os,

f

ver-den er vor! Fre-den kal-der til sam-ling

o-ver al-le græn-ser, jor-den grønnes og hå-bet gror:

mf

1. Verdens ungdom kræ-ver fred!

2. Verdens ungdom kræ-ver fred!

f

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La jeunesse du monde combat pour la paix

Ecrit par un jeune compositeur Danois pour le Festival de Berlin

La jeunesse du monde combat pour la paix,
L'unité est notre arme contre haine et violence,
Le monde appartient à nous tous,
La vie appelle, nous la suivrons.

Nous annéantissons la guerre,
La vie vaincra,
Rien ne nous retiendra,
Ce monde nous appartiendra.
La paix nous demande
De nous unit par-dessus les frontières
La terre verdoie et l'espérance croît,
La jeunesse du monde demande la paix.

Jeunes, levez-vous tous, accompagnez-nous,
En avant vers un avenir claire et riche,
Proclamez ceci dans tous les pays:
Nous sommes des jeunes, nous voulons la paix!

Au refrain!

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Brauche, Jugend, deine Kraft

Lied der österreichischen Jugend

Worte: Otto Horn — Musik: Marcel Rubin

Rasches Marschtempo

mf

1. Seht die Blu - men, seht sie blü - hen, an der Stra - ße, die wir zie - hen in den
2. Für den Frie - den muß man wa - gen, laßt uns mu - tig vor-wärts tra - gen, als ein
3. Kraft der Ar - beit, Kraft des Jun - gen hat der Wü - ste Macht be - zwun - gen! Wo der

mf — D — *stacc.* — *f* — G7 — D — *f*

ff — *mf*

1. Mor - gen, in den Son-nen-schein ei - nes neu - en Tags hin -
2. Bei - spiel uns - rer Be - sten Bild, bis der Völ - ker Traum er -
3. Frei - heit Licht den Tag er - hellt, wächst der Mensch und blüht die

ff — *mf* — G — D — E7

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f

1. ein. Daß nicht Stie - fel sie zer - tre - ten
2. füllt. Nehmt den Mör - dern ih - re Waf - fen,
3. Welt. Daß die frucht-bar rei - che Er - de

f

A D A

ff

1. samt den Saa - ten, die wir sä - ten,
2. daß sie nie mehr Un - heil schaf-fen,
3. ü - ber - all zum Gar - ten wer - de,

brau - che, Ju - gend,

ff

A7 D G

1.-2. 3.

dei - ne Kraft, die auf Er - den Frieden schafft! schafft!

mf

D A7 D D

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Chant de la jeunesse autrichienne

Musique: Marcel Rubin
Texte: Otto Horn

Jeunesse, emploie ta force

1. Voyez les fleurs,
Voyez-les fleurir
Le long de la route
Où nous passons
Vers le clair matin,
Vers le rayon de soleil
D'un jour nouveau.
Pour empêcher de lourdes bottes
D'écraser ces fleurs
Ainsi que le grain par nous semé,
Emploie ta force, ô jeunesse,
Qui forge la paix sur terre.

2. Pour la paix il faut oser.
Portons courageusement devant nous
Le glorieux portrait des meilleurs d'entre nous,
En exemple,
Jusqu'à la réalisation du grand rêve des peuples.
Enlevez leurs armes aux meurtriers
Pour qu'ils ne puissent plus frapper.
Emploie ta force, ô jeunesse, qui forge la paix sur terre.

3. La force du travail, la force de la jeunesse,
Ont vaincu la puissance du désert.
Là où la lumière de la liberté éclaire le jour,
L'homme se sent grandir
Et le monde s'épanouit.
Pour que du sein riche et fertile de la terre
Sorten partout des jardins florissants,
Emploie ta force, ô jeunesse,
Qui forge la paix sur terre.

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Píseň o Fučíkovi

Moderato cantabile

SOLO 1.× *p*, 2.× *mf*

1. Zas ja-rov po-lích sví - tí, zas roz-tál
2. Kci - li ho ve - dla pra - vda, bo-jo-val

1.× *p*, 2.× *mf*

mf

vslun - ci bí - lý sníh, ví - tr u-le - hl
vče - ra prozít-řej-ší čas a když se slo - ba

mf

vkví - tí, a u-di-ve - ně ztich,
zve - dla, stál ja-ko pe-vná hráz

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2 SOLI

mf

báj__ pře-krásná když zně-la o člo-vě-ku v je-ho či-nech hr-din-
a__ když psal po-zdrav ze-mi mi-lo-va-né zdra-vil jím So-vět-ský

mf

SBOR
(1. a 2. sloka)

hm

ských. Ze-mě zpí-va, ze-mě hří-má, ze-mě
svaz. Ja-ko ská-ly, pe-vné ská-ly, pro-ti

hm

chce dí-ky v prá-ci vzdát, to-mu, kdo za-bit v bo-ji ne-u-
všem vrahům bu-dem stát, za to-ho, je-hož li-dé mi-lo-

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mí - rá a jenž měl ži - vot ne - smr - tel - ně
va - li a jenž měl ži - vot ne - smr - tel - ně

rád, 1.-2. v je - hož slo - vech nád - her - ný
rád,

1.-2. ne - smr - tel - ně rád

od - kaz ži - vým zní: Rád vás mám, li - dé ví - těz - ní!

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2 SOLI

Mír, pro něj li - dé bdě - te, vždyť ne-ní nad něj draž-ší-ho slo-

va, mír, to zní ce - lým svě - tem,

3 SOLI

vý - zva Fu-čí - ko - va, mír a by li - dé

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ži - li, a - byšťastný člo - věk člo-vě - ka měl rád.

SBOR
(3. sloka)

3. Ze - mě zpí - vá, ze - mě hří - má, v ra - dost-

né prá - ci slib chce dát, my o

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mír vra-hy pro-sit ne-bu-de-me, my se

sval-kou o mír bu-de-me rvát, ce-lým

bu-de-me se rvát,

ff

svě-tem nád-her-ný od-kaz ži-vým zní: Rád vás

ff

ff

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ff

mám, li - dé ví - těz - ní, rád vás

ff

ff

ff

mám, li - dé bdě - te!

ff

ff

molto

Più andante

sub.pp

Tempo I

sub.ff

Li - dé ví - - těz - ní, li - dé bdě - te!

ff

Più andante

Tempo I

decresc. pp

sub.ff

sfff

Ped.

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Chant écrit par un jeune compositeur Tchèque et primé au Festival de Berlin.

Le chant de Julius Fučik

Le printemps reluit dans les champs.
La neige blanche a fondu au soleil,
Le vent s'est appaisé,
Il s'est tu, étonné;
Car un conte merveilleux s'est levé
De l'homme et d'exploits héroiques.

La terre chante, la terre tonne,
La terre veut remercier, par son travail,
Celui qui, mort au combat, ne meure pas
Et qui a aimé la vie immortelle
Dans ses magnanimes mots d'outre tombe
il a dit à tous les vivants.
Je vous aime, hommes victorieux!

La paix, oh hommes, veillez sur la paix!
Elle a une valeur sur toutes les valeurs.
Paix — voilà l'appel de Fučik
Qui résonne par tout le monde.
Paix, afin que les hommes vivent,
Que l'homme heureux aime l'homme.

La terre chante, la terre tonne,
Elle veut promettre par son travail:
Nous ne mendierons pas la paix aux meurtriers,
Nous lutterons, por la paix, contre la guerre.
Dans ses magnamimes mots d'outre tombe
il a dit à tous les vivants:
Je vous aime, hommes victorieux,
Je vous aime — veillez — hommes victorieux.

La vérité l'a mené au but!
Hier il a combattu pour ce jour d'aujourd'hui,
Et quand la colère monta,
Il était debout, résistant comme une digue.
Et quand il envoya son message à son pays aimé,
Il salua l'Union soviétique.

Nous serons comme des rochers, contre les meurtrier:
Au nom de lui, que les hommes ont aimé
Et qui a aimé la vie immortelle.
Dans ses magnamimes mots d'outre tombe
il a dit à tous les vivants:
Je vous aime, hommes victorieux.

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Lagu perdamaian pemuda

Gembira (Jaful)

p

1. Ki - ta pe - mu - da se - lu - ruh du - ni - a, Ber - su - a di
2. Ki - ta pe - mu - da men - gu - lur - kan tan - gan, Per - sau - da - ra -
3. Po - hon pe - mu - da ber - bu - ah - lah ma - nis, Di - si - ram o -

1. Ber - lin ber - gem - bi - ra - ri - a. Wa - lau - pun ber - be - da -
2. an ko - koh, 'ba - gai tu - dju - an. 'tu - lah da - sar ke - mau -
3. leh tan - gan ber - dje - nis - dje - nis. Dja - di be - sar mem - be -

1. be - da a - li - ran, Na - mun ki - ta te - tap te - guh se - tu - djuan.
2. an da - mai ki - ta, Tak da - pat peng - ha - sut pe - rang me - nji - ta.
3. ri pe - na - un - gan, Di - ba - wah ki - ta hi - dup da - mai a - man.

1. Ke - ma - nu - sia - an te - lah men - de - ri - ta, Pe - rang du -
2. Ki - ta tak ma - u: 'dja - di tja - lon ma - jit, Pab - rik, ta -
3. Te - na - ga ki - ta djas - ma - ni ro - cha - ni, Ki - ta sum -

1. nia dua ka - li dje - nis nja - ta. Ki - ni u - da - ra 'dah
2. nah, se - ko - lah di - di - na - mit. Da - lam da - mai ker - dja
3. bang - kan den - gan se - nang ha - ti. Un - tuk ke - mer - de - ka -

1. meng - hi - tam, Pe - rang ba - ru di - kan - dung, meng - han - tjam!
2. mem - ban - gun, K'wa - dji - ban ki - ta tu - run - te - mu - run.
3. an bang - sa, Da - sar - nja da - mai se - pan - djang ma - sa.

f REFRAIN

1.-3. Dengan langkah pas - ti se - ren - tak, Ki - ta ber - sa - tu - lah ber - ge - rak.

Menghindarkan perang nan djahat, 'tu s'ruan ki - ta da - mai dan kuat.

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Chant de la jeunesse indonésienne

Musique et paroles de UVW

Chant de paix de la jeunesse

Nous, la jeunesse du monde entier,
Pleins de joie, nous nous rencontrons à Berlin.
Malgré les différences des convictions,
Nous suivons fidèlement et courageusement
notre but unique commun:

Deux fois l'humanité a souffert
Une guerre mondiale, dont la cruauté est manifeste,
Et déjà le ciel s'obscurcit
De la menace d'une nouvelle guerre.

Avançant comme si nous n'étions qu'un seul homme,
Nous agissons d'accord,
Pour empêcher la cruelle guerre,
Voilà notre appel pacifique et fort.

Nous, les jeunes, tendons nos mains
A l'amitié fidèle, qui est notre but.
Voilà la base de notre activité en faveur de la paix,
Qu'aucun fauteur de guerre nous ravira.

Nous ne voulons pas être aspirants à la mort,
Ni voir bombarder nos usines, champs et ésoles.
Notre devoir est, de génération en génération,
De réaliser un travail constructif en temps de paix.

Au refrain!

L'arbre de la jeunesse porte des fruits doux,
Mais il faut que beaucoup de mains l'arrosent.
Quand il sera grand, il nous abritera,
Nous vivrons en paix et en ordre sous sa protection.

De tout notre cœur, nous devouerons
Nos forces physiques et mentales
A la délivrance de tous les peuples,
Ce que sera la base de la paix à jamais.

Au refrain!

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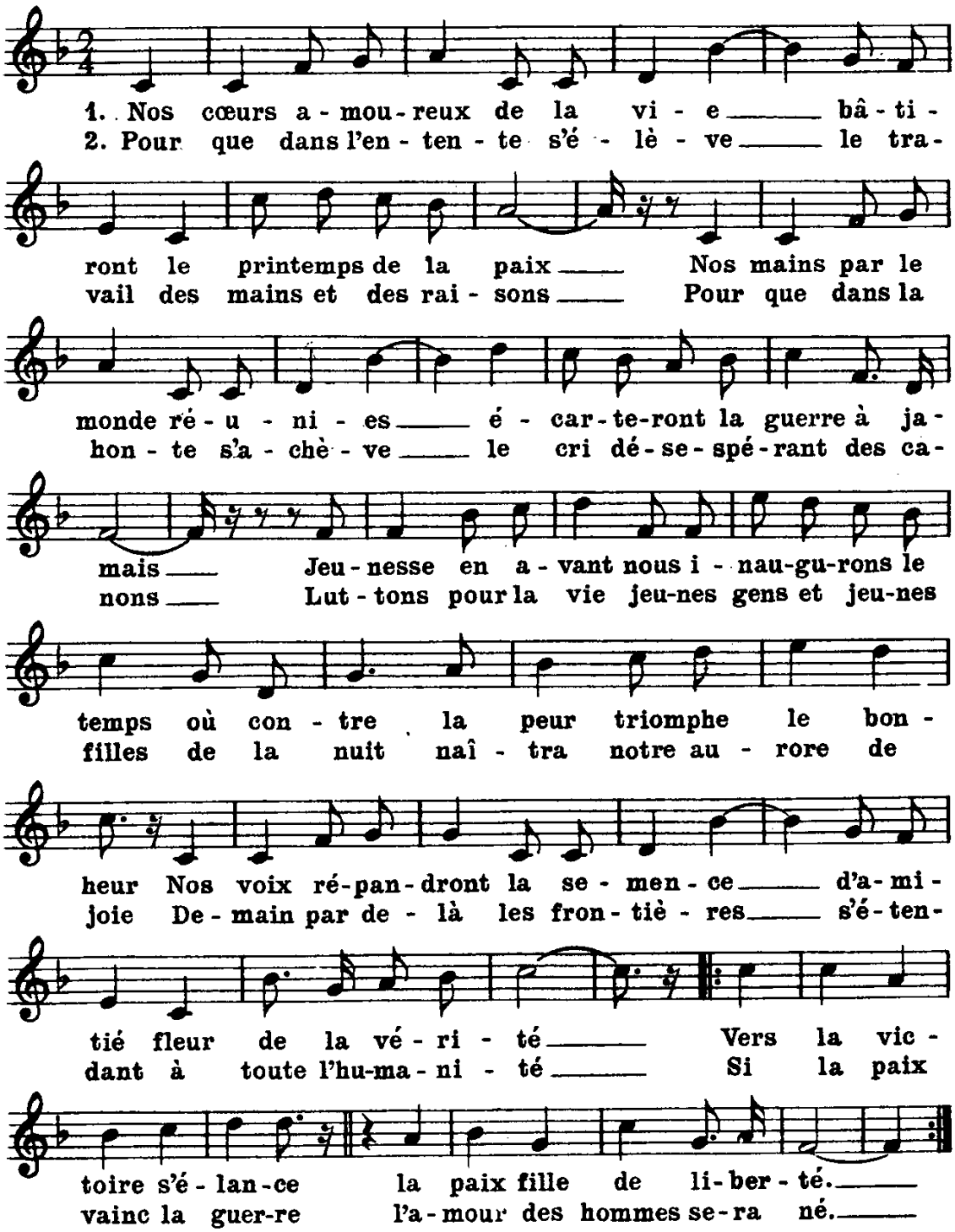
Le printemps de la paix

Chant écrit pour le Festival de Berlin

Paroles de Laly — Musique de Relliwnov



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Per Paqen Punojme

Tekst e muzikë
K. Uçi

Marziale

mf

1. Në çdo vënd sot pu - - na vlon dhe a-
2. Kombina - te po ndër - to jmë se Par-
3. Pu - na jo - në na fo - rcen do ka-

mf

1. gi - mi qesh tek ne, pu - në - to - - ri po pu-
2. ti - ja na ndih - mon dhe per Pa - - qenpo pu-
3. loj - më çdo rro - zik, jemi li - dhur përgjithmo-

f

1. non far - kë - ton një jet - të re.
2. nojm se En - ve - - ri-na më - son.
3. në, me Pash ki minSo - vje - tik.

T'pa

f

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lo - dhursot pu - noj - - më mar-shoj - më

me - gu - xim. Ne pa - qen t'a for- -

1. tim,

coj - më për - pa - ra pa për - tim, pa për-tim. Të

2. pa - - ra pa për - tim.

3. tim.

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Chant des jeunes travailleurs Albanais

Musique et paroles de K. Uçi

Nous travaillons pour la paix

Partout, aujourd'hui, le travail se développe,
Et l'aurore s'est levée pour nous.
L'ouvrier travaille toujours,
Il forge une nouvelle vie.

Nous travaillons infatigablement, à présent,
Nous marchons avec courage.
Nous devons consolider la paix.
En avant, camarades, pas de paresse.

Nous batissons des combinats,
Parce que le Parti nous assiste.
Et nous travaillons pour la paix,
Parce qu'Enver nous instruit.

Nous travaillons infatigablement etc . . .

Notre travail nous renforce,
Nous surmonterons tout danger.
Nous sommes liés, pour toujours,
A l'Union Soviétique.

Nous travaillons infatigablement etc ...

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Written by a young Scottish composer for the Berlin Festival

The White Dove

Words by
Rhoda Fraser

Music and Arr.
Martin Milligan

1. The white dove soars on wings out - spread, a - cross the world where pain is pain in Di-xie and Pyong-Yang the dead judge with dear eyes who is in - sane.

2. New songs of chil - dren round the earth of chil-dren

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ff

spies cannot check peace can't be banned No Quisling boots a conqu'ror's

p

no ter-rors daunt a mo-thers hand.

worth no ter-rors daunt

3. We shall cre - ate and who dare still this

beats

vast fra-ter-nal pulse which beats and beats and beats in hearts and minds

in-vin - ci - ble we shall cre - ate a world of peace.

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Ecrit par un jeune compositeur écossais pour le Festival de Berlin

Martin Milligan

La colombe blanche

La colombe blanche survole, en déployant ses ailes,
Un monde ou douleur s'accumule sur douleur.
A Dixe, à Phong-Yang, les morts jugent
De leurs yeux chéris ceux, qui démentent la raison.

De nouvelles chansons vont autour du monde,
Des espions ne peuvent plus l'arrêter, en ne peut bannir la paix,
Les Quislings ne peuvent plus aider des conquérants,
Aucun terreur ne découragera la main d'une mère.

Nous produirons, et qui osera encore
Renier ce battement de cœur fraternel,
Invincible dans les veines et dans les esprits ?
Nous créerons un monde de paix.

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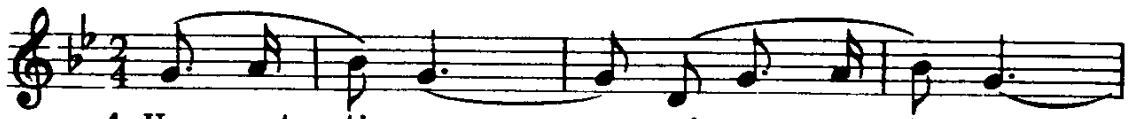
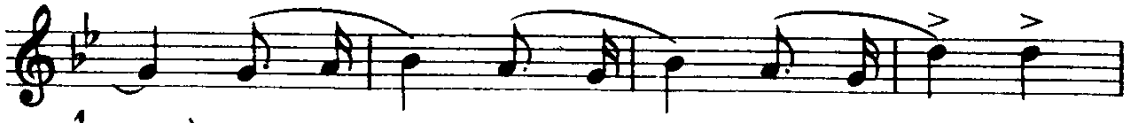
Bella ciao



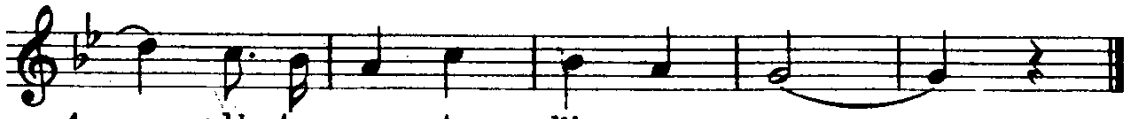
1. Una mat - ti - na mi son sve - glia - to
2. Oh! Parti - gia - no por - ta - mi vi - a
3. E se io muo - io da par - ti - gia - no
4. Mi seppel - li - rai las-sú in mon - tag - na
5. E le gen - ti che pas - se - ran - no



1.
2.
3.
4.
5.

bel - la ciao bel - la ciao bel - la ciao, ciao,

1. Una mat - ti - na mi son sve - glia - to
2. Oh! Parti - gia - no por - ta - mi vi - a
ciao. 3. e se io muo - io da par - ti - gia - no
4. mi seppel - li - rai las-sú in mon - tag - na
5. e le gen - ti che pas - se - ran - no



1. ed ho tro - va - to l'in - va - sor.
2. che mi sen - to di mo - rir.
3. tu mi de vi sep - pel lir.
4. sot - to l'om - bra di un bel fior.
5. e di - ran - no „Oh! che bel fior."

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Bella Ciao

Adieu ma belle
(Chant dea partisans italiens)

Un matin je me suis levé,
Adieu ma belle
Adieu ma belle
Ma belle, adieu, adieu, adieu.
Un matin je me suis levé
Et j'ai trouvé l'envahisseur.
O! Partisan emmène-moi,
Adieu ma belle,
Adieu ma belle,
Ma belle, adieu, adieu, adieu.
O! Partisan emmène-moi,
Car je me sens mourir
Et si je meur en Partisan,
Adieu ma belle,
Adieu ma belle,
Ma belle adieu, adieu, adieu.
Et si je meur en Partisan,
Tu devras m'ensevelir,
M'ensevelir là-haut sur la montagne,
Adieu ma belle
Adieu ma belle
Ma belle adieu, adieu, adieu.
M'ensevelir là-haut sur la montagne,
Sous l'ombre d'une belle fleur.
Et les gens qui passeront,
Adieu ma belle
Adieu ma belle
Ma belle, adieu, adieu, adieu.
Et les jens qui passeront,
Ils diront: „Oh! quelle belle fleur."

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Kê ch'ang tzu kuo

歌唱祖國

王　莘詞曲

中板·壯大行進 *Moderato marciale*

mf

U hsing

(一)五　星

f

mf

hung ch'i　ying feng　piao　yang, sheng li　kê sheng

紅　旗　迎　風　飄　揚、勝　利　歌　聲

mp

f

mp

to mo hsiang liang.　kê ch'ang wo men　chin ai　ti

多　麼　響　亮。　歌　唱　我　們　親　愛　的

mp

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mf

tzu kuo. tsung chin tzou hsiang fang jung fu ch'iang.

祖 國，從 今 走 向 繁 榮 富 強。

mf

3

ff

kê ch'ang wo men ch'in ai ti tzu

歌 唱 我 們 親 愛 的 祖

ff

1.2.3.

kuo, tsung chin tzou hsiang fang jung fu ch'iang.

國，從 今 走 向 繁 榮 富 強。

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yüe ko kao shan, yüe ko ping yüan,
越過高山，越過平原，
我們勤勞，我們勇敢，
東方大陽，正在昇起，

k'ua ko pên teng ti huang hê ch'ang chiang,
跨過奔騰的黃河長江，
獨立自由是我們的理想，
人民共和國正在成長，

k'uan kuang mei li ti tu ti, shih wo men
寬廣美麗的土地，是我們
我們戰勝了多少苦難，才得到
有我們領袖毛澤東，指引着

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ch'iu ai ti chia hsiang. ying hsung ti jen min,
親愛的家鄉。英雄的人民，
今天的解放！我們愛和平，我
前進的方向。我們的生活

chan ch'i lai liao! wo men tuan chie yiu ai
站起來了！我們團結友愛
們愛家鄉，誰敢侵犯我們就
天天向上，我們的前途

rit.

4.

chian ch'iang ju kang. U hsing
堅強如鋼。(二)五星
叫它死亡。(三)五星
萬丈光芒。(四)五星

fang jung fu ch'iang!
繁榮富強！

rit.

ff

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La chanson de la patrie

Chœur:

Chant de la jeunesse chinoise
Paroles et Musique de Wang Hsin

Le drapeau rouge aux cinq étoiles vole au vent
Quand les chansons de la victoire résonnent
En l'honneur de notre patrie bienaimée
Qui avance maintenant vers la prospérité et la force.

Les chansons ont traversé les montagnes et les plaines
A travers la Rivière Jaune précipitée et le Yangtsé,
De notre patrie bienaimée
L'héroique peuple s'est levé
Unis dans l'amour nous sommes plus forts que l'acier.

Chœur:

Nous sommes laborieux et braves,
L'independance de notre liberté
Nous aimons la paix, nous aimons notre patrie
Quiconque oserait nous invader trouvera la mort.

Chœur:

Le soleil se lève à l'Est
La force de la République Populaire s'accroît.
Notre chef Mao Tsé-toung
Nous guide vers la voie du progrès;
Notre vie s'améliore chaque jour
Notre avenir est infiniment lumineux.

Chœur:

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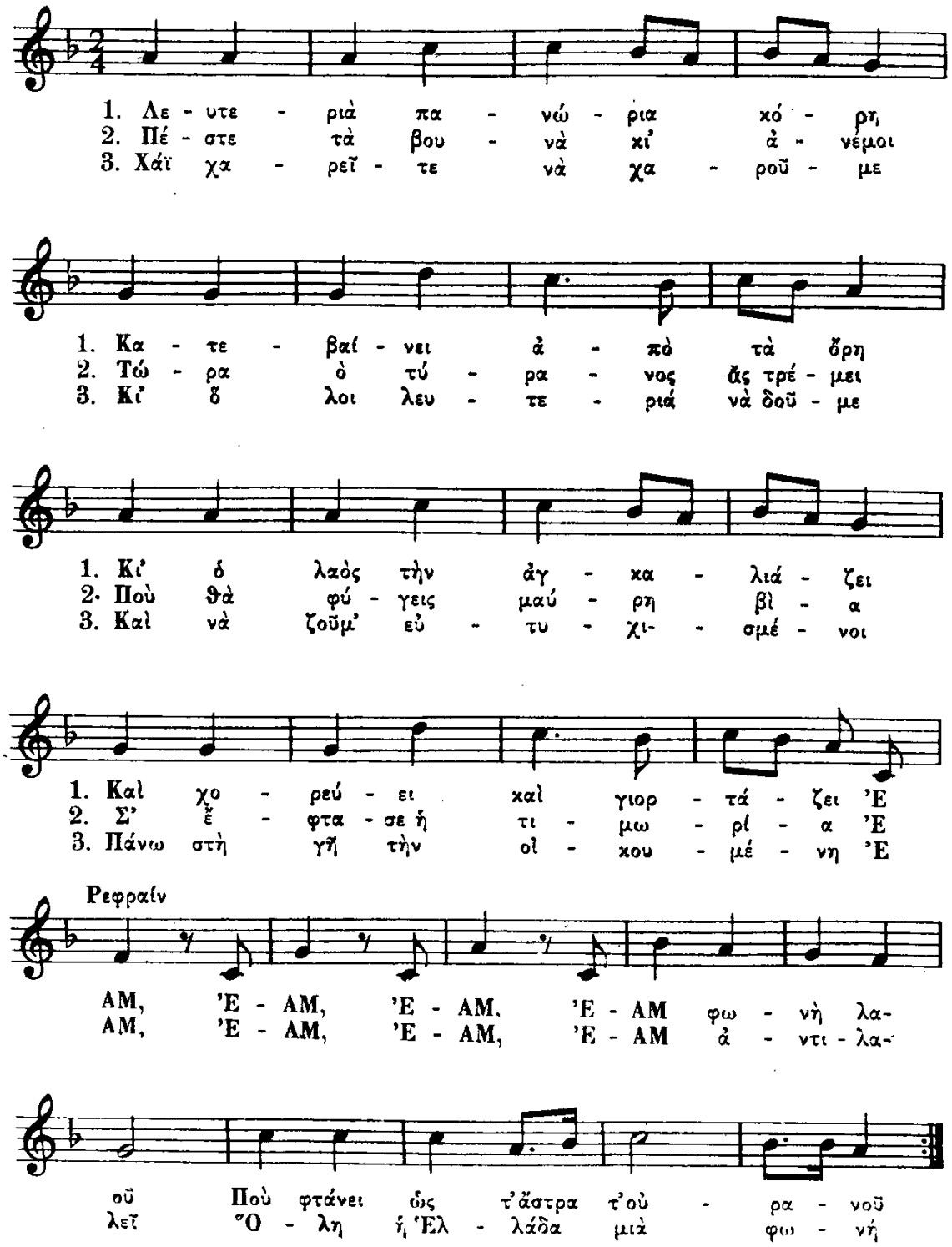
Chant de l'E. A. M.

Chanson Grecque

Musique de
V. Rotas



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Chanson Grecque

Paroles françaises de Gil-Renaud
Musique de V. Rotas

Chant de l'E. A. M.

Des montagnes la voix mâle
De la liberté Dévale,
Et le peuple des villages
Se met à chanter Sauvage.

Refrain:

E. A. M., E. A. M., E. A. M., E. A. M.,
Toute la Grèce a repris
Ce cri d'appel: Liberté E.
E. A. M., E. A. M., E. A. M., E. A. M.,
Les champs, les villes ont lancé
Ton nom au ciel: Liberté.

Que la brise si légère,
La mer et l'oiseau Espèrent
La violence qui va naître
Conduit au tombeau Nos maîtres.

Refrain:

Notre lutte fraternelle
Nous rendra la vie plus belle:
L'Esperance dans notre âme
Au malheur survit et clame.

Refrain:

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Les jeunes marchent la main dans la main

Texte
Veronica Porumbaco

Musique
V. Timiş

1. Par - cou - rant la vas - te ter - re. Loin de
2. L'un est un doc-ker de Fran - ce. Qui un
3. En rent - rant dans sa pa - tri - e. Le doc -

mf

1. leur pa-ys na - tal, Tant de jeu - nes gens al -
2. an fut en pri - son, L'au - tre pour la dé - li -
3. ker s'ef-for - ce - ra, d'em - pê - cher l'en-voi des

1. lè - rent. Al - lè - rent jus - qu'au grand Fes - ti -
2. vran - ce. Déli - vran - ce du Viet - Nam lutte au
3. ar - mes. Des ar - mes de mort dans le Viet -

p

1. val. Hé! En dé - pit de la dis - tan - ce.
2. front. Hé! L'un au port jet te a - vec ra - ge.
3. Nam. Non! Et cau - sant des morts sans nom - bre.

mf

1. Et d'in - jus - tes, durs com - bats. Leur u -
2. Les ca - nons au fond des mers, l'au - tre
3. Chez l'od - ieux en - va - his - seur, tout au

1. nion, leur al - li - an - ce. Ja - mais plus ne se rom -
2. lutte a - vec cou - ra - ge. Dans les bois et les ma -
3. fond des grands bois som - bres. Un guer - rier viendra, vain -

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REFRAIN

f *ff* *p*

1. pra.
2. rais.
3. queur.

Côte à côte ils se pro - mè - nent Se ser-

mf

rant bien fort la main De - puis près d'une se -

f

mai - - ne Ils sont hô - tes de Ber- -

ff *p*

lin. Aus - si grand que soit le mon - de Il ne

mf

peut les sé - pa - rer Ils di - ront à tous com -

ff

bien pro - fon - de Est leur no - ble a - mi -

tié. Est leur no - ble a - mi - tié.

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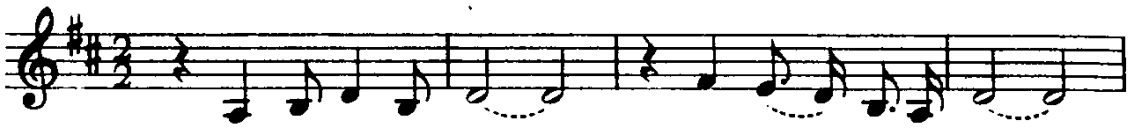
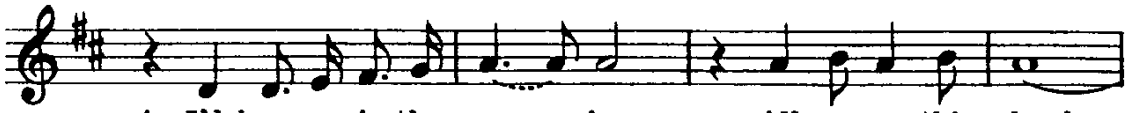
Hammer Song

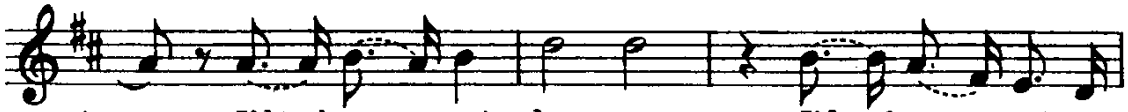
Song of the American Youth



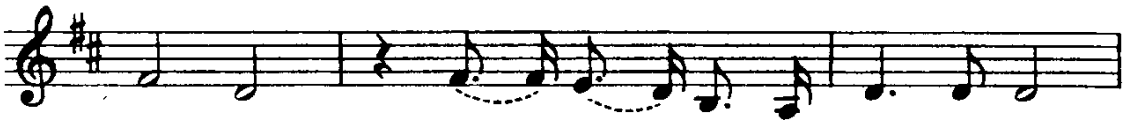
1. If I had a ham-mer I'd hammer in the mor-ning,
2. If I had a bell___ I'd ring it in the mor-ning,
3. If I had a song___ I'd sing it in the mor-ning,
4. Now I got a ham-mer, and I___ got a bell,___



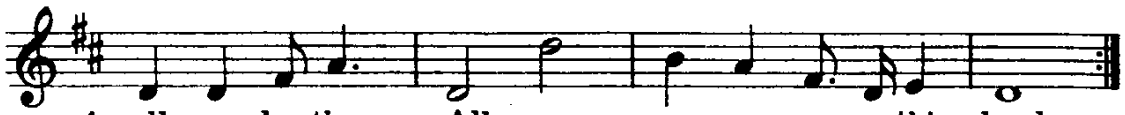
1. I'd hammer in the e - ven-ing All o-ver this land;___
2. I'd ring it in the e - ven-ing All o-ver this land;___
3. I'd sing it in the e - ven-ing All o-ver this land;___
4. and I got a song to___ sing All o-ver the world;_



1.___ I'd___ ham-mer out dan - ger, I'd___ hammer out a
2.___ I'd___ ring___ out dan - ger, I'd___ ring___ out a
3.___ I'd___ sing___ out dan - ger, I'd___ sing___ out a
4.___ It's the hammer of jus - tice, It's___ the___ bell of



1. warn - ing, I'd___ ham-mer out a love be-tween
2. warn - ing, I'd___ ring___ out a love be-tween
3. warn - ing, I'd___ sing___ out a love be-tween
4. free - dom, It's the song___ of a love be-tween



1. all our brothers All _____ o - ver this land.
2. all our brothers All _____ o - ver this land.
3. all our brothers All _____ o - ver this land.
4. all our brothers All _____ o - ver the world.

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Chant de la jeunesse américaine

La chanson du marteau

Si j'avais une cloche
Je la ferais sonner le matin
Je la ferais sonner le soir
Dans ce pays entier;
J'annoncerais le danger,
Je ferais sonner pour avertir,
Je ferais résonner l'amour
De tous nos frères
Dans ce pays entier.

Si je savais une chanson
Je la chanterais le matin,
Je la chanterais le soir
Dans ce pays entier;
Je chanterais le danger,
Je chanterais pour avertir,
Je chanterais l'amour
De tous nos frères
Dans ce pays entier.

Maintenant j'ai un marteau,
Et j'ai une cloche,
Et j'ai une chanson à chanter
Dans le monde entier;
C'est le marteau de la justice,
C'est la cloche de la liberté,
C'est la chanson d'amour
De tous nos frères
Dans le monde entier.

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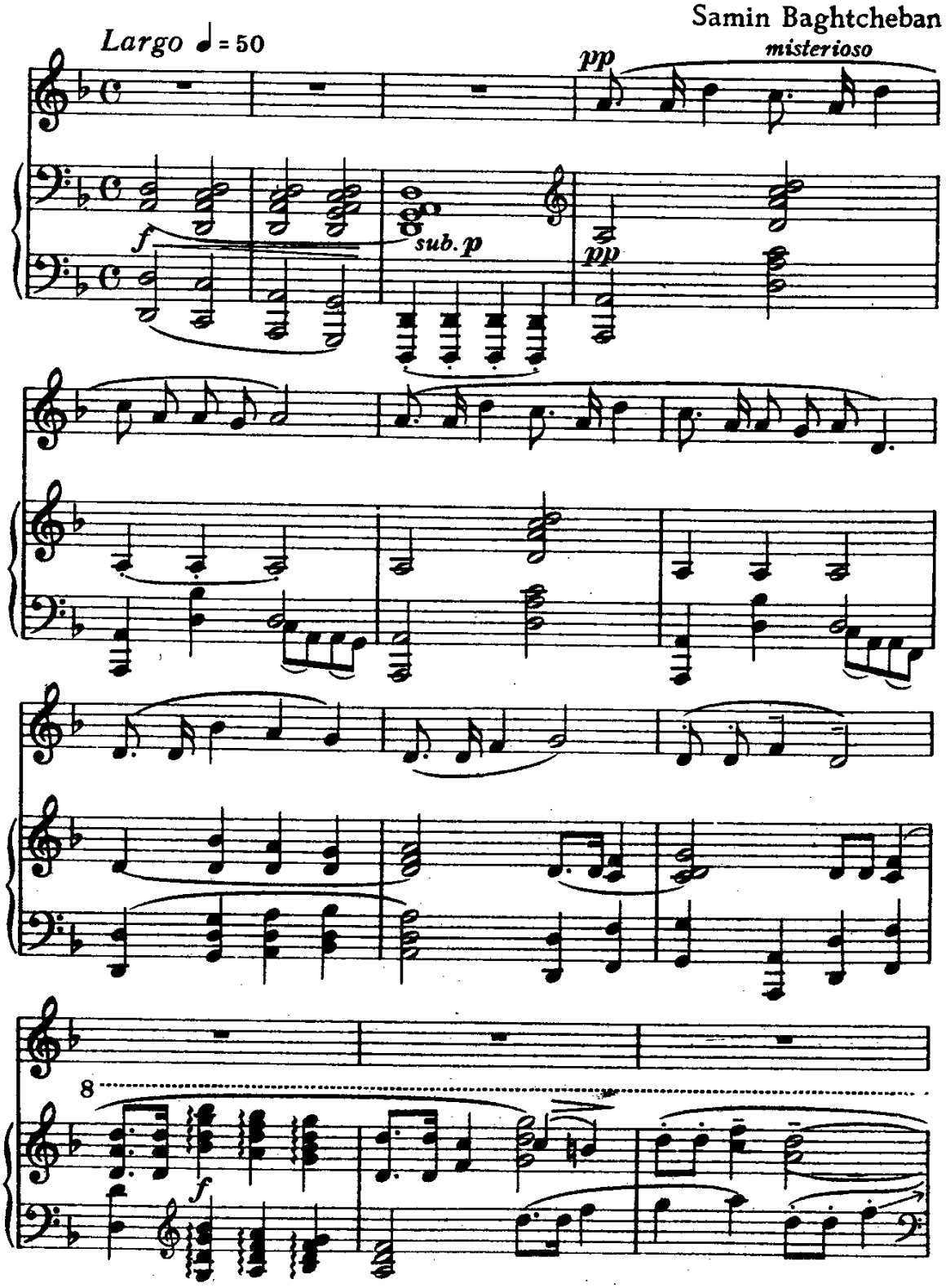
Un camarade fut tué à Khouzestan

Samin Baghtcheban



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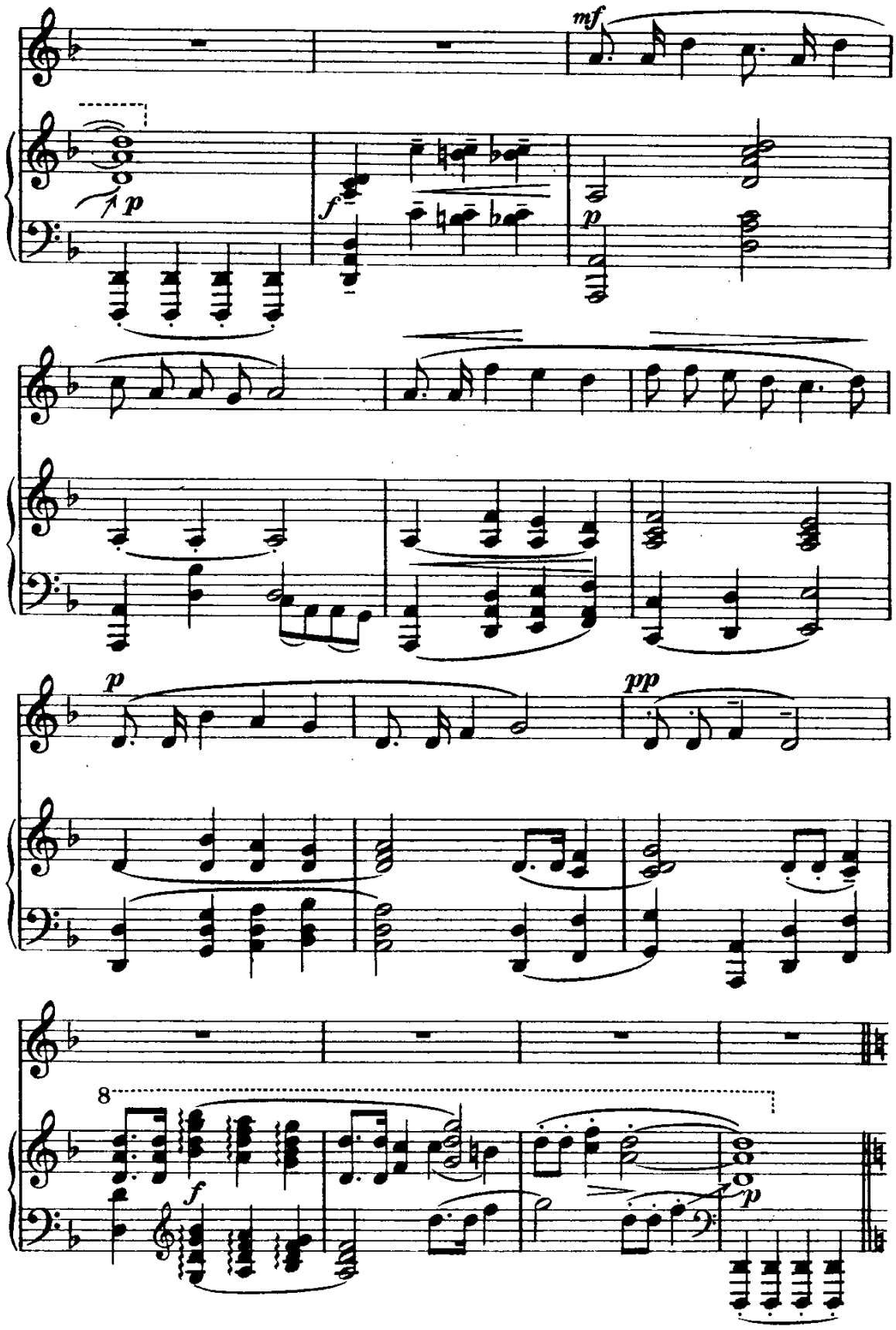

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poco meno mosso ma non troppo

mp

cantando

cresc.

cresc.

f

p

p

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Più mosso ♩ = 120

f

alla marcia

f

8

cresc.

8

cresc.

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ff

ff

poco rit.

ff

meno mosso ♩ = 72

f

f

p

p

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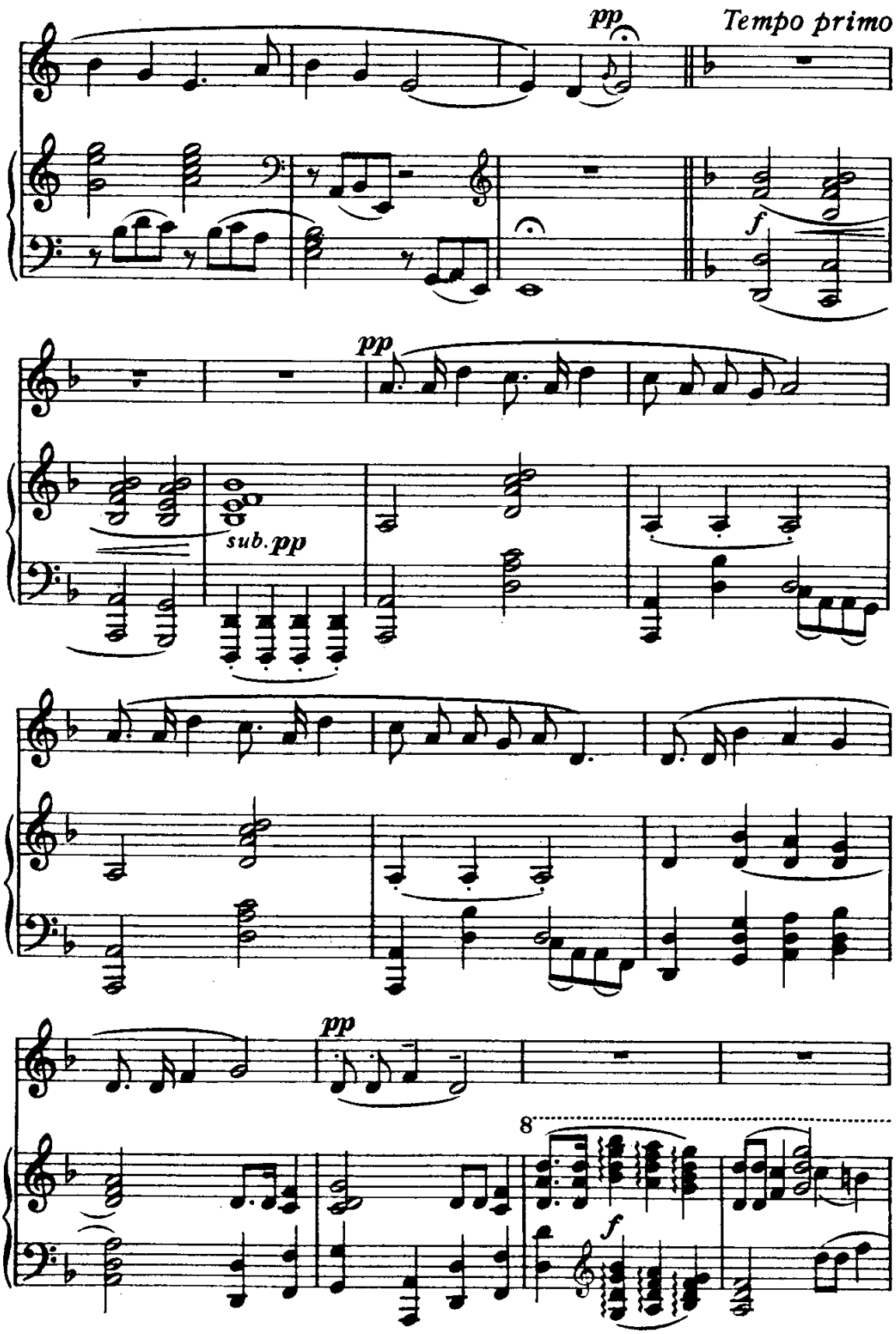

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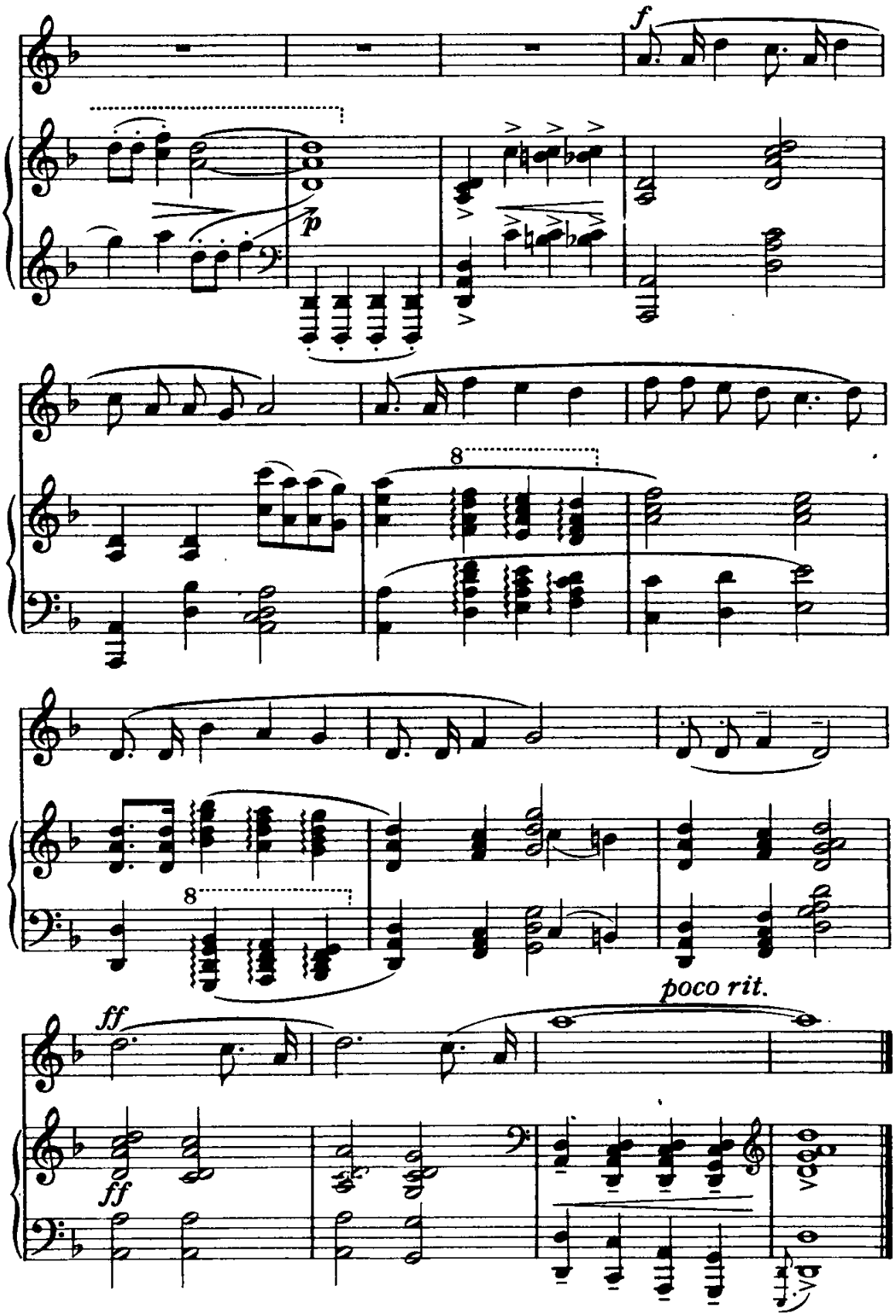

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Chant écrit par un jeune compositeur iranien pour le concours de chansons du Festival de Berlin
Samin Baghtcheban

Un camarade fut tué à Khouzestan

Un Camarade fut tué à Khouzestan
La plaine brulante de Khouzestan — fut couverte de sang
Le corps du tué comme le drapeau rouge — est couvert de sang

Un Camarade fut tué à Khouzestan
Son coeur chaleureux no bat plus.
Mais notre sang s'echauffe — dans le cœur de ce désert brûlant —

Nous ne pleurerons jamais.
Comme — toi ils ont tué de millions
Leurs yeux avides de voleur — sont fixés sur notre force de travail
Hei — hei hei — hei

Nous ne pleurerons jamais jamais.
Des millions de poignées de fer se fermeront.
L'étandard de feu brillera dans le ciel
Et la tempête de fureur et de haine terrassera l'ennemi

Nous ne pleurerons jamais jamais.
Ton nom est le mot d'ordre de notre lutte
Ton corps blessé et ensanglanté
est notre drapeau

Hei hei — hei hei

Nous de pleurerons jamais jamais

Hei hei hei hei

Un Camarade fut tué à Khouzestan
Notre lutte s'est ravivée, son nom vivra plus que jamais
comme le chant de la victoire brillante

Hei hei — hei hei camarades

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Nie pozwolimy

Godło: Górnik

Tempo marsza

mf

1. Pró - żno mordeczych strzałów huk prag-nie zad-ła-wić wol-ny
2. Nig - dy wy-lo - ty nas-zych luf brat-nich nie bę - dą szu-kać
3. Ra - zem musimy wro-ga zgnie-ść. Już w bratnią pierś nie pad-nie

mf

1. śpiew. Pró - żno wróg chce, by po - la i miast nas-zych bruk
2. serc. Nie chce-my, a - by do-mem był strze-lec-ki rów,
3. strzał. Wświę - ta po - ko - ju bę - dą nam sa - lu - ty grzmieć

f

1. znów pla-mi - ła krew.
2. to - war zys - zką śmierć.
3. z nie po-trzeb-nych dział.

Już nig - dy, już nig - dy, już

f

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nig - dy, nie da - my pod-pa - lić swych do-mów. Jeś - li

w dom zech - ce wejść nie-przy - ja - ciel, to ży - wy nie przej-dzie przez

f

f

próg. Już nig - dy, już nig - dy, już nig - dy, nie

mf

mf

da - my się zła - mać ni - ko - mu. Rów-nać krok, to-war-zy - sze i

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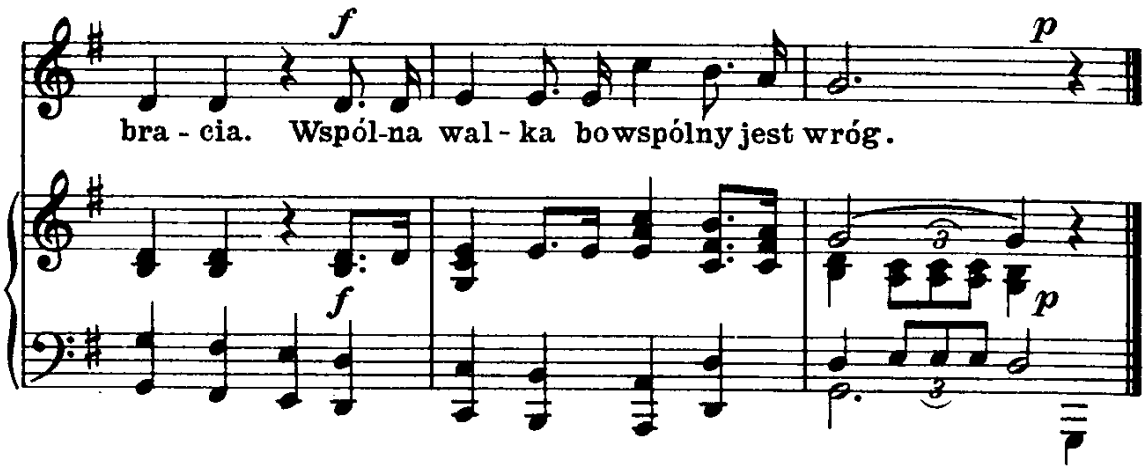

Chant du jeune compositeur Polonais Gornik, pour le Festival de Berlin

Nous ne permettrons pas

En vain le bruit des coups mortels
Veut étouffer le chant libre.
En vain l'ennemi veut que le sang
tâche à nouveau les champs
et les pavés de nos villes.

Refrain:

Nous ne permettrons jamais, plus jamais, plus jamais,
Que l'on enflamme nos maisons.
Nous ne laisserons pas l'ennemi
traverser vivant le seuil de la maison.
Plus jamais, plus jamais, plus jamais,
Nous nous laisserons briser.
Au pas camarades et frères
L'ennemi est commun et la lutte commune.

Jamais nos canons seront dirigés
Sur les cœurs de nos frères
Nous ne voulons pas, que le fossé
soit notre abri et la mort notre compagne.

Refrain:

Ensemble, nous devons détruire l'ennemi
Plus jamais, le feu sera dirigé sur la poitrine de nos frères
Et les canons hors d'usage
nous transmettrons le jours de fêtes de la paix leurs salutations.

Refrain:

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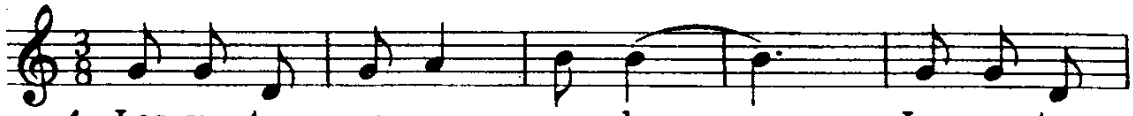
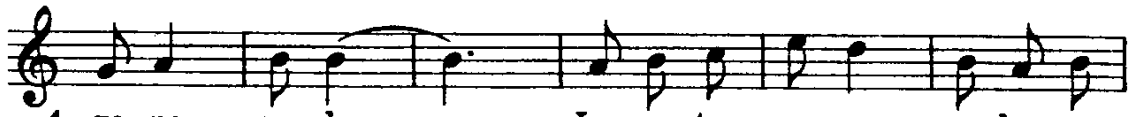
Los cuatro Generales

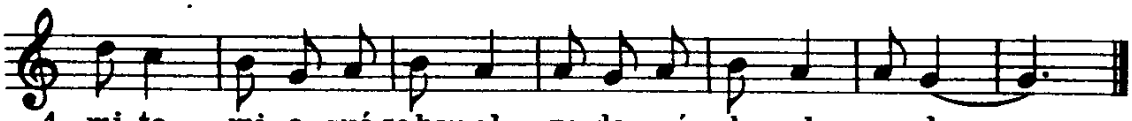
(Canzone dei combattenti antifascisti di Spagna)



1. Los cua-tro ge - ne - ra - les _____ Los cua-tro
2. Pa - ra la No - che - bue - na _____ Pa - ra la
3. Puen-te de los Fran - ce - ses _____ Puen - te de
4. Por - que tus mi - li - cia - nos _____ Por-que tus
5. La ca - sa de Ve - láz - quez _____ La ca - sa
6. Con la „quin - ta co - lum - na“ _____ Con la „quin -
7. Ma-drid, qué bien re - si - stes _____ Ma-drid, qué
8. De las bom - bas se rí - en _____ De las bom -
9. Mar-cha - os le - gio - na - rios, _____ Mar-cha - os



1. ge - ne - ra - les _____ Los cua-tro ge - ne - ra-les ma-
2. No-che - bue - na _____ Pa - ra la No-che - bue-na ma-
3. los Fran - ce - ses _____ Puen-te - de los Fran - ce-ses ma-
4. mi - li - cia - nos _____ Por-que tus mi - li - cia-nos ma-
5. de Ve - láz - quez _____ La ca - sa de Ve - láz-quez ma-
6. ta co - lum-na _____ Con la „quin - ta co - lum-na“ ma-
7. bien re - si - stes _____ Ma-drid, qué bien re - si-stes ma-
8. bas se - rí - en _____ De las bom - bas se - rí - en ma-
9. hit - le - ria - nos, _____ Mar-cha-os in - va - so-res ma-



1. mi-ta mi - a qué se han al za-do, qué se han al za - do. _____
2. mi-ta mi - a se-rán a-hor - ca-dos se-rán a-hor - ca - dos. _____
3. mi-ta mi - a na-die te - pa-sa na - die te pa - sa. _____
4. mi-ta mi - a qué bien te guardan qué bien te guar-dan. _____
5. mi-ta mi - a se cae ar - dien-do se cae ar - dien-do. _____
6. mi-ta mi - a me - ti - da den-tro me - ti - da den - tro. _____
7. mi-ta mi - a los bom-bar - de-ros los bom-bar - de - ros. _____
8. mi-ta mi - a los Ma - dri - le-ños los Ma - dri - le - ños. _____
9. mi-ta mi - a a vue-stra tier-ra! a vue-stra tier-ra! _____

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Chant des Coimba Hauts anti franquistes

Les quatre generaux

1. Les quatre généraux (3 fois
   ma petite maman
   Qui se sont soulevés (bis)

2. Pour la Noël (3 fois)
   ma petite maman
   Ils seront pendus (bis)

3. Puente de los Franceses (3 fois)
   ma petite maman
   Personne ne te traversera (bis)

4. Parce que les miliciens (3 fois)
   Ma petite maman
   Te gardent bien (bis)

5. La maison de Velasquez (3 fois)
   ma petite maman
   S'écroule en flammes (bis)

6. Et la »5ème colonne« (3 fois)
   ma petite maman
   Se trouve dedans (bis)

7. Madrid tu résistes bien (3 fois)
   ma petite maman
   Aux bombardements (bis)

8. Ils se moquent des bombes (3 fois)
   ma petite maman
   Les madrilènes (bis)

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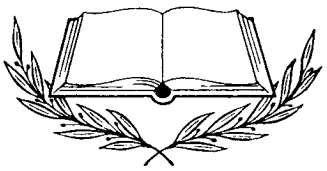
BOOKS

IN THE

RUMANIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC



BUCHAREST 1953

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BOOKS

IN THE

RUMANIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

BUCHAREST 1953

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Dr. PETRU GROZA
President of the Presidium of the Grand National Assembly
of the Rumanian People's Republic

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GHEORGHE GHEORGHIU-DEJ
General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party,
Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Rumanian People's Republic

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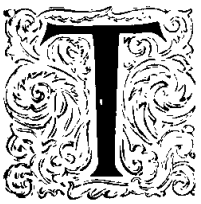

he first text in Rumanian was printed only in the early half of the 16th century. However, the zeal to achieve clarity and beautify the text is manifested in the old manuscripts adorned with miniatures by some gifted copyist, a monk or a layman, whose modest pen begged to be excused for not being «an angel but merely a hand of clay — liable to err.» Love of good books written by the skilful hand of a calligrapher or printed in the language of the people has inspired in their work these pioneers who were convinced that « he who raises an abode of learning raises a bright home onto himself, stronger than iron and copper, for plunder will not plunder it, nor the wind damage it or the waters drown it.»

The passage of centuries has brought new proof of the strong link between the scholars' love for the homeland and their anxiety to enlighten the people through instructive books. This is the glory that outstanding scholars, whose fame has spread beyond the borders of the country, have won for themselves in the history of Rumanian literature. Among them we may

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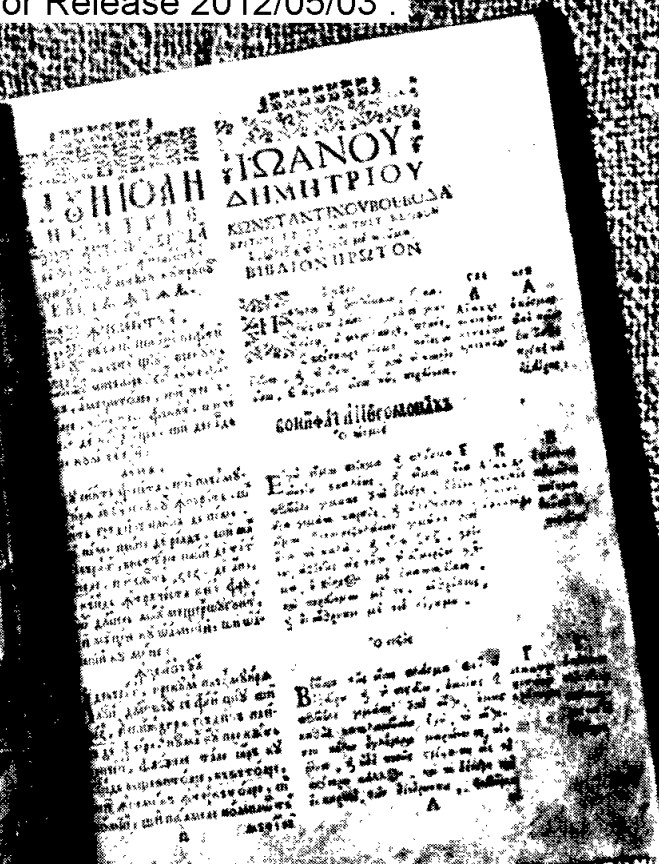

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DEMETRIVS CANTEMIR
SCHOLARVM IMPERII
MOLDAVIAE PRINCEPS
ET THEMBRIVS
SENATVS PARIS
CONSILIIS

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

GROWTH and DECAY

OF THE

OTHMAN EMPIRE.

PART I.

CONTAINING THE

Growth of the OTHMAN EMPIRE,

FROM THE

Reign of OTHMAN the Founder,

TO THE

Reign of MAHOMET IV.

THAT IS,

From the Year 1300, to the Siege of Vienna, in 1683.

WRITTEN IN LATIN

By DEMETRIVS CANTEMIR, late Prince of Moldavia.

TRANSLATED BY

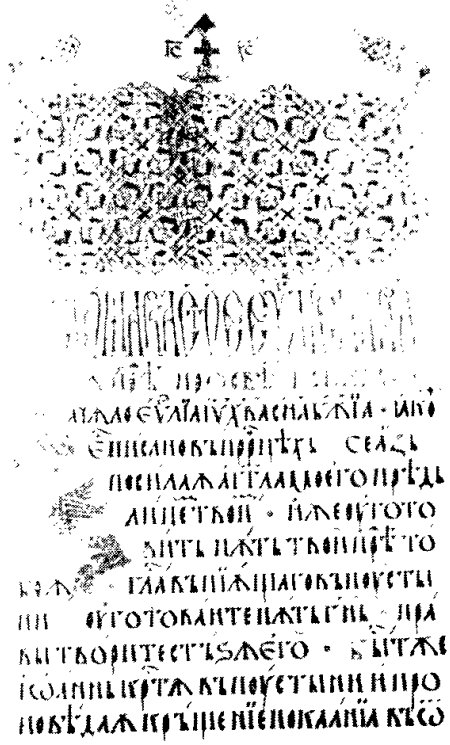
By N. TINDAL, M.A. Vicar of Great Waltham in Essex.

ADDED WHEREAS

Of the TURKISH EMPERORS, Ingraven from Copies taken from ORIGINALS at the Grand SEIGNOR'S Palace, by the late SULTAN'S Painter.

LONDON:

Printed for JAMES, JOHN, and PAUL KNAPTON, at the Crown in Ludgate Street. MDCCXXXIV.



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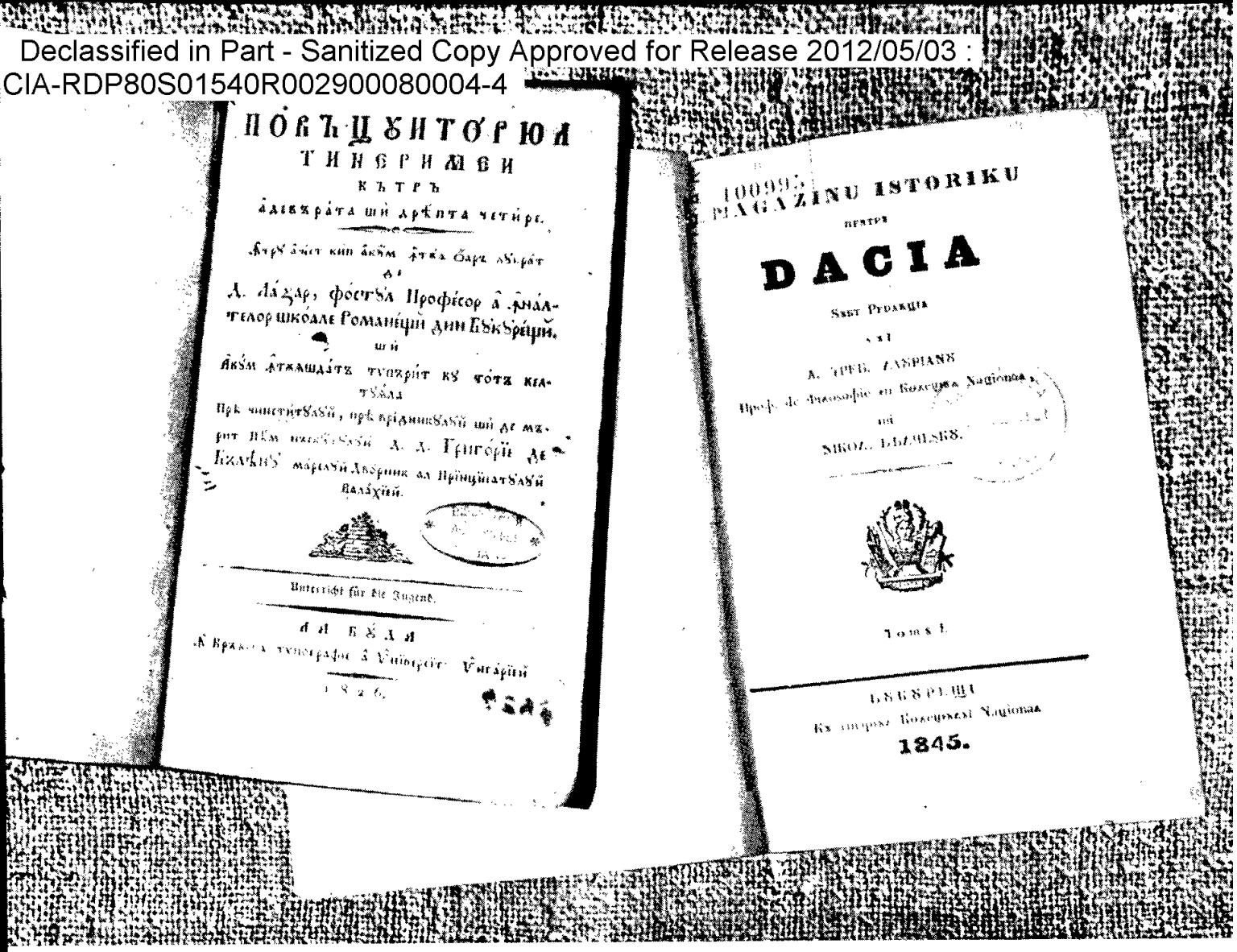

cite the Metropolitan Antim Ivireanul, an impassioned spirit loving the people, a fearless enemy of the invading Turks and a partisan of friendship with Russia. Early in the 18th century — the century of enlightenment — Metropolitan Antim made of his printing press at Snagov a famous cultural centre in Eastern Europe, printing books in Rumanian, Slavonic, Greek, Arabic and Georgian. Nor was the European fame of the scholar Dimitrie Cantemir — prince of Moldavia — the much valued friend of Peter the Great and the author of the renowned *Descriptio Moldaviae*, written at the request

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of the Berlin Academy — less justified. Our people's deep love will ever recompense the efforts of « the master of philosophical and mathematical sciences » which was Gheorghe Lazăr, the founder of modern Rumanian schooling early in the 19th century. It was thus that the impassioned eagerness of patriotic scholars to turn the treasury of culture into the property of the people was fostered and preserved. And the eager mind and inexhaustible enthusiasm of the great democratic revolutionary Nicolae Bălcescu served the cause of the same aspiration.

The revival in our country today, after centuries of slavery and oppression, the deep process transforming our people into a socialist nation capable of great achievements would not have been possible without the cultural revolution which is being unfolded in the Rumanian People's Republic — a revolution which is the crowning of the progressive traditions of the Rumanian people. Assigning the tasks incumbent on the educators of the young generation of builders of Socialism, Comrade Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej said: « Special attention must be bestowed in the schools on the study of the Rumanian language built up by the people through the efforts of scores of generations, on the study of progressive, classical and contemporary literature reflecting the aspirations of the people, their struggle and conquests, and on the history of Rumania which depicts the century-old struggle of the people for freedom. »

One of the most important features of the spiritual progress of our country is the close link between original creation of our days and the cultural inheritance of the past. The new socialist culture takes up in a creative spirit the most progressive fruits of the efforts of mankind throughout the centuries, everything which is spiritually linked to the struggle of the working people. That is why the classical patrimony is inseparable from every cultural manifestation, that is why the classics of national and world literature enjoy such wide popularity.

The life and works of the great revolutionary democrat Nicolae Bălcescu will never cease to inspire the generations to come with love and gratitude

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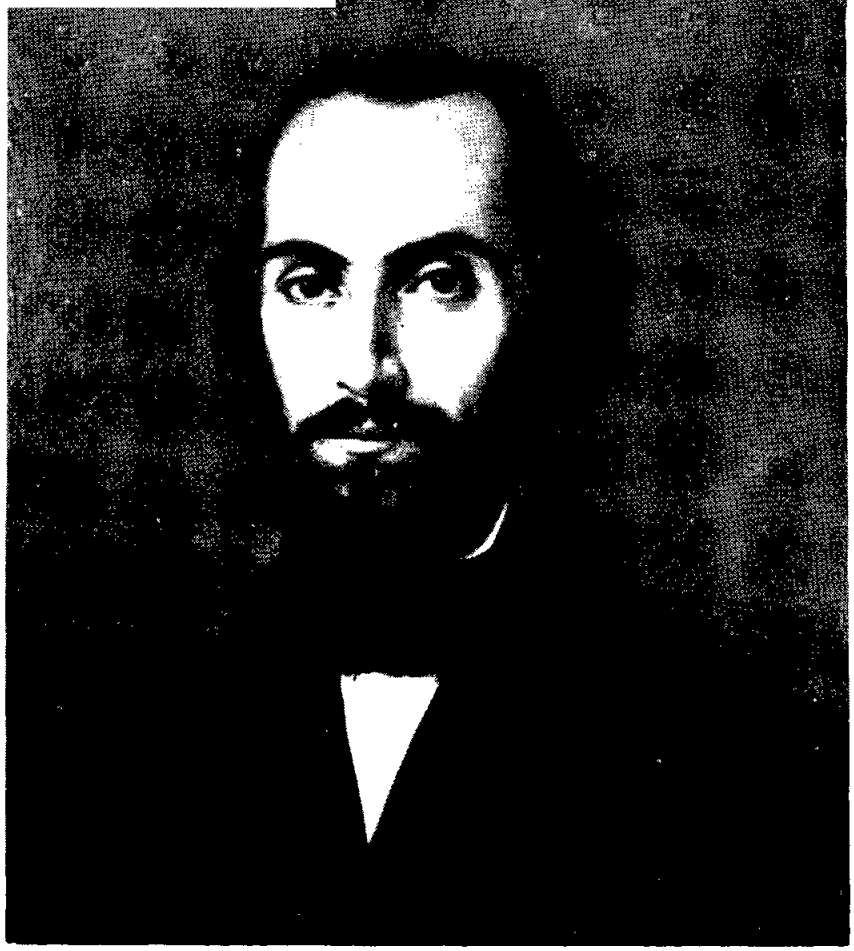

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The victorious people look upon Bălcescu as upon a pioneer and a leader devoted unto his death to the cause of the homeland and of mankind's liberation.

The centenary of N. Bălcescu's death constituted a rich cultural manifestation within the framework of which the historical works of the revolutionary leader of 1848 were brought out in large editions, edited by foremost academicians and writers. Among the homages brought to the personality of this great fighter and thinker is also the inspired and comprehensive poem *Bălcescu* by Eugen Jebeleanu. The play of the same name by Academician Camil Petrescu, represented on the stage of the « I. L. Caragiale » National Theatre in Bucharest, was likewise published in a large edition.

The poet Mihail Eminescu also enjoys immense popularity. His poetry, pervaded with deep love for the oppressed people and seething with relentless indignation against the oppressors, has been brought out in numerous popular and festive editions totalling 150,000 copies. The deeply resonant lyre of this Rumanian national poet vibrated most intensely, singing of the indignation of the masses at « the cruel, unjust social system. »

The fourth volume (*Posthumous Works*) of the complete works of Eminescu, edited by the Academy of the Rumanian People's Republic, came out half a century after the publication of the first collection of his *Posthumous Poetry;* and the printing of other volumes is now under way. The fruit of much effort and editorial experience, this volume, issued in most satisfactory technical conditions, is yet another homage which the Academy of the Rumanian People's Republic brings to its honorary member post mortem, whose centenary in 1950 afforded the entire people the opportunity of paying tribute to this « cynosure » of Rumanian poetry.

Just as much love and admiration went into the celebration last year of the centenary of I. L. Caragiale, the great Rumanian classic whose satire castigates with unparalleled talent the regime of bribery and plunder which the people has today cast off for good and all. As part of this commemoration which assumed the proportion of a national festival, our publishing houses

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reprinted the satirist's works in editions totalling over 400,000 copies, in popular series and in editions which are outstanding technical achievements and to which foremost representatives of Rumanian arts made their contribution. A number of critical works were then brought out, being designed to set in his true light this great realistic writer of acknowledged value whose works (especially the comedy *A Lost Letter*) were issued in remarkable translations, in Russian, French, German, Italian, Hungarian, Czech, Bulgarian, etc. Like the other Rumanian classics, I. L. Caragiale never kept aloof from the problems raised in his time. To his mind, a real writer is he who « devotes his life to the task of combating harmful prejudices, of doing away with narrow-mindedness, enlightening the spirit of his nation and refining its taste by inspiring it with the most noble feelings and ideas. »

How clear-cut is his unforgettable aphorism on the immortal nature of great works: « A good book is a good deed—a good deed is not limited in time being appropriate everywhere and for whomever comes across it. »

The working people in the Rumanian People's Republic celebrated Caragiale as a great pioneer, and the passage of a hundred years has confirmed the truth that a good book has always been and still is a great social action, « a good deed, » an invaluable support rendered to the progressive forces by the men of letters.

The commemorations of these three great Rumanian classics considerably revived in the hearts of the millions of readers in our country the thrilled memory of these sons of the Rumanian people, coryphaei of the long and glorious series of writers beginning with the first Rumanian authors and continuing in an ever larger stream flowing towards our times. The work of setting the classical patrimony in its true light is part of the entire development of the new culture. Evidence of the esteem in which this patrimony is held is the succession of all kind of editions — complete or selected works — by Ion Neculce, Ion Budai-Deleanu, Dinicu Golescu, Costache Negruzzi, Niculae Filimon, Ion Ghica, Cezar Boliac, Mihail Kogălniceanu, Alecu Russo, Dimitrie Bolintineanu, Vasile Alecsandri, Ion Creangă,

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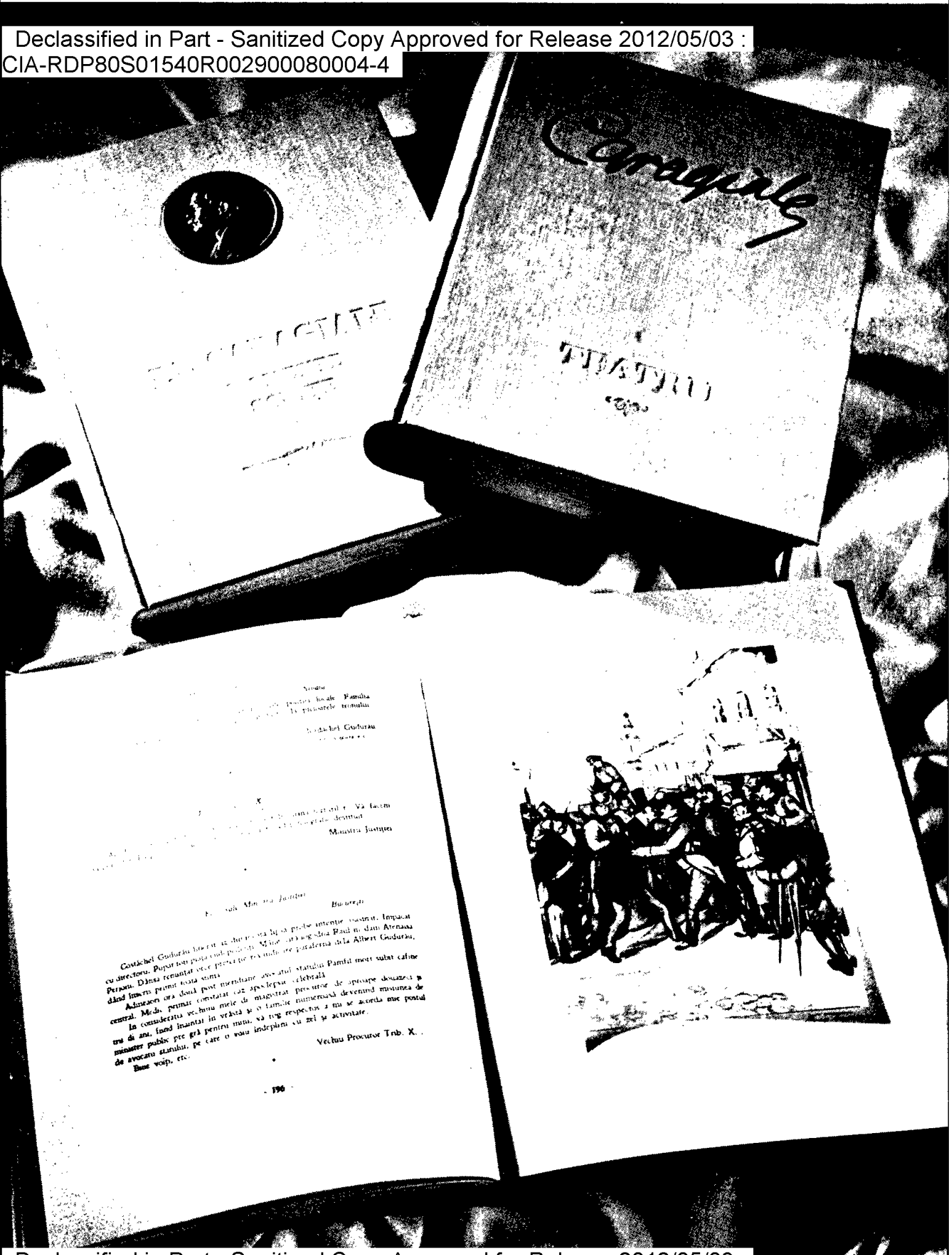

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Alexandru Odobescu, George Coşbuc, Ion Slavici, Barbu Ştefănescu-Delavrancea, Dumitru Th. Neculuţă and others.

The people whom these great pioneers considered as the reality and the foundation of the Rumanian nation have triumphed under the leadership of the Party of the working class, thus creating for themselves the widest prospects of developing economic life, letters and the arts. The decision published by the newspaper « Scânteia, » organ of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party, in its issue of December 30, 1948, on the eve of the first anniversary of the proclamation of the Rumanian People's Republic, shows the many-sided concern of the people's regime to stimulate literary and artistic activity by supplying every material means necessary for this work without precedent in the history of Rumanian culture: funds, Creation Houses and rest-homes in health resorts, as well as other advantages. Five years later, the two hundred State Prize Laureates proved through their works that a great step forward had been taken in all spheres, thanks to the ungrudging support rendered by the Party and the Government. The writers and men of science in new Rumania have written for the people valuable books designed to assist them in their peaceful, creative labour, in their determined struggle for a happy life, freed from exploitation and the fear of wars, for good and all.

At the same time, the State of people's democracy bestows particular attention on the publishing and spreading of good books among the masses, making it its constant concern to satisfy their ever increasing cultural requirements.

The activity concerned with the publication of books has been developed to an unprecedented extent in recent years. The average circulation of books has increased more than sixfold compared with the most « fruitful » years in the past. In three years, the main publishing houses have printed over 210 million books in Rumanian and in the languages of the national minorities in the Rumanian People's Republic. The construction of the great « J. V. Stalin » Scânteia House Printing Works creates huge possibilities

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Decision of the Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party concerning the stimulation of scientific, literary and artistic activity — published in the newspaper «Scânteia» on December 30, 1948

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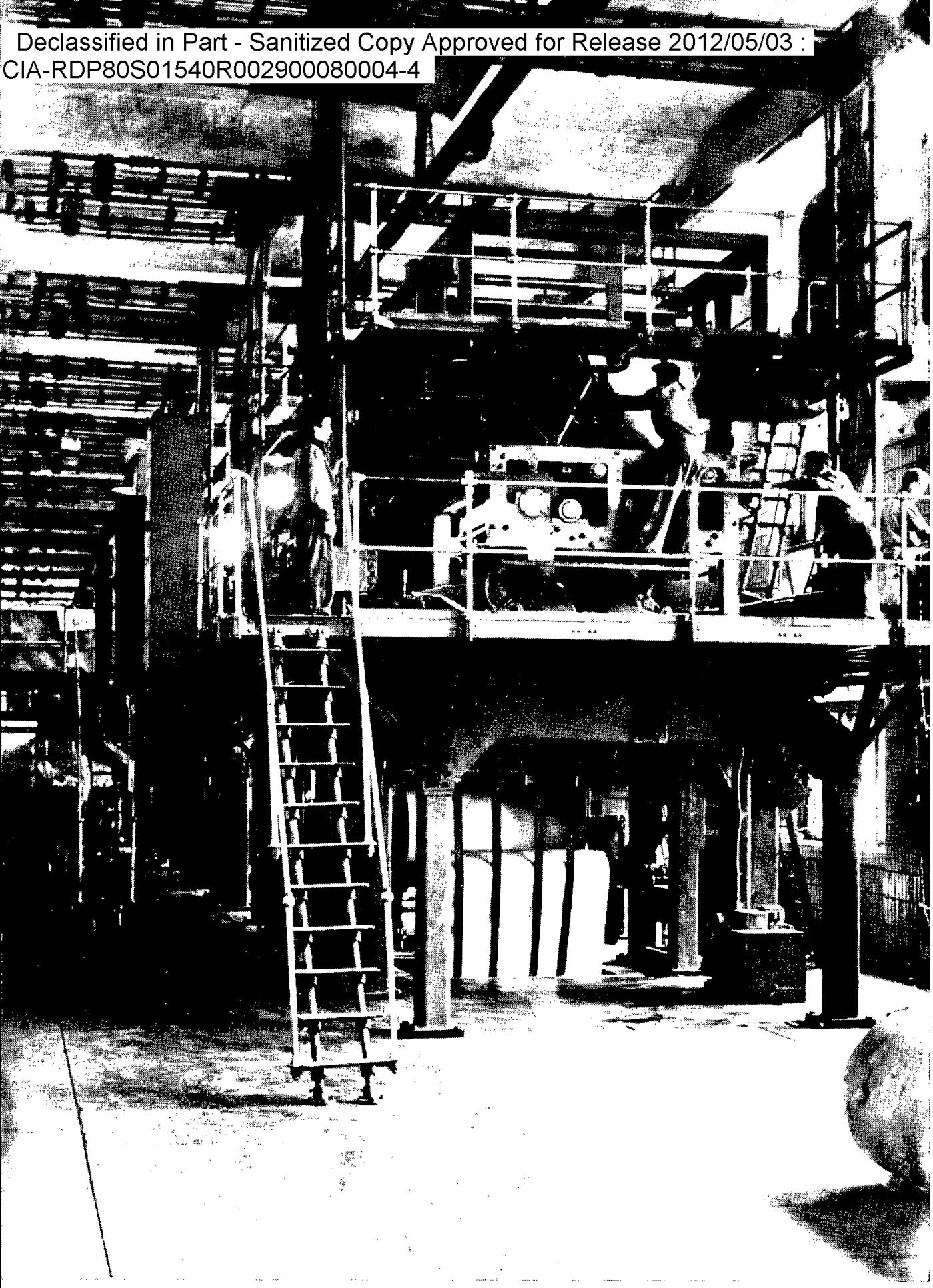

The big rotary press of the « J. V. Stalin » Scânteia House Printing Works, Bucharest

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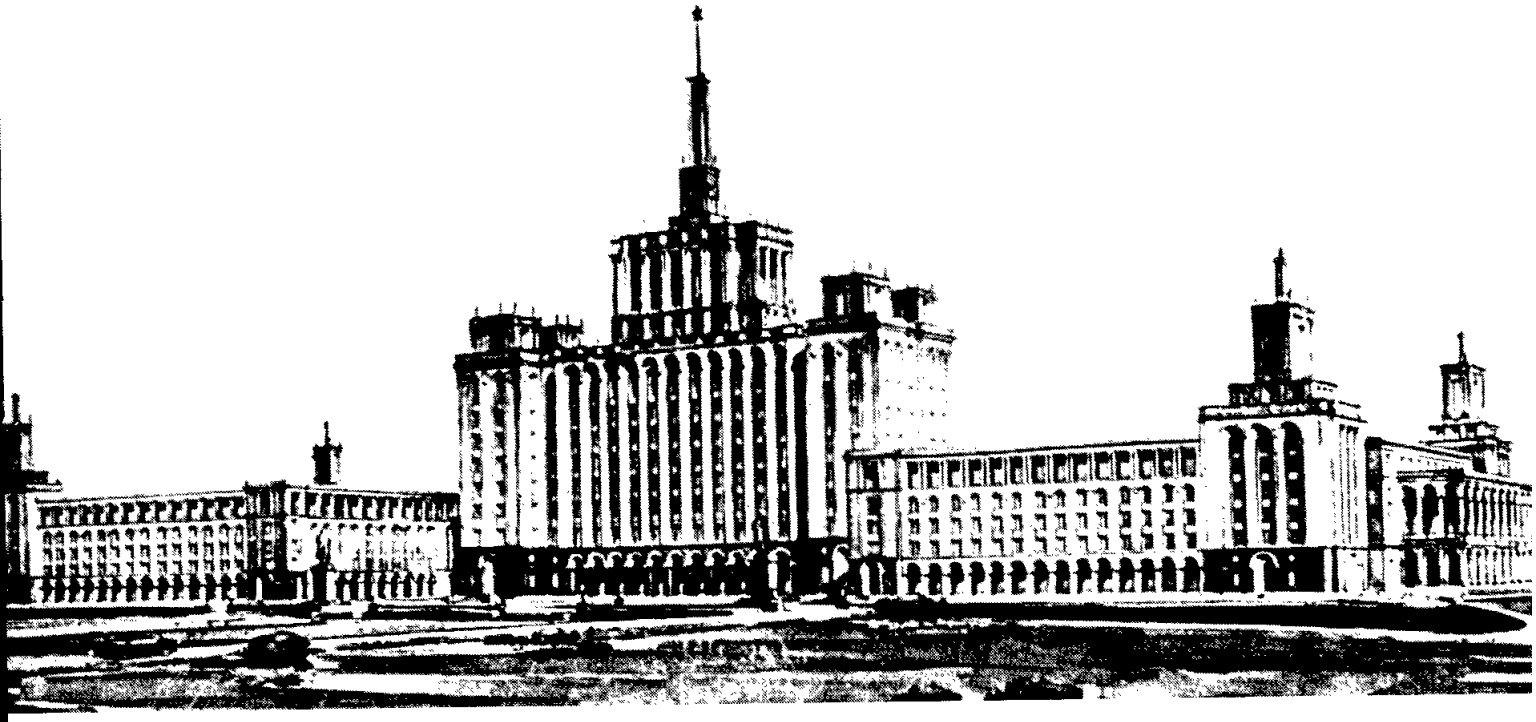

Model of the « J. V. Stalin » Scânteia House Printing Works in Bucharest

of extending this activity in the future. Such a great production makes necessary an adequate organization for the spreading of books. To improve the latter sector of activity, a booksellers' and book-spreading centre has been created which has under its leadership a dense network of bookshops. and libraries — a network which is constantly increasing; book-stands are organized in enterprises and in the streets, and other practical means are used for spreading culture. The increasing number of books coming off the presses speedily reaches the readers who are more and more eager to get information on problems concerned with literature, arts and science.

The many-sided preoccupations of the immense reading public are directly linked to the powerful upsurge of Rumanian culture generally, thanks to

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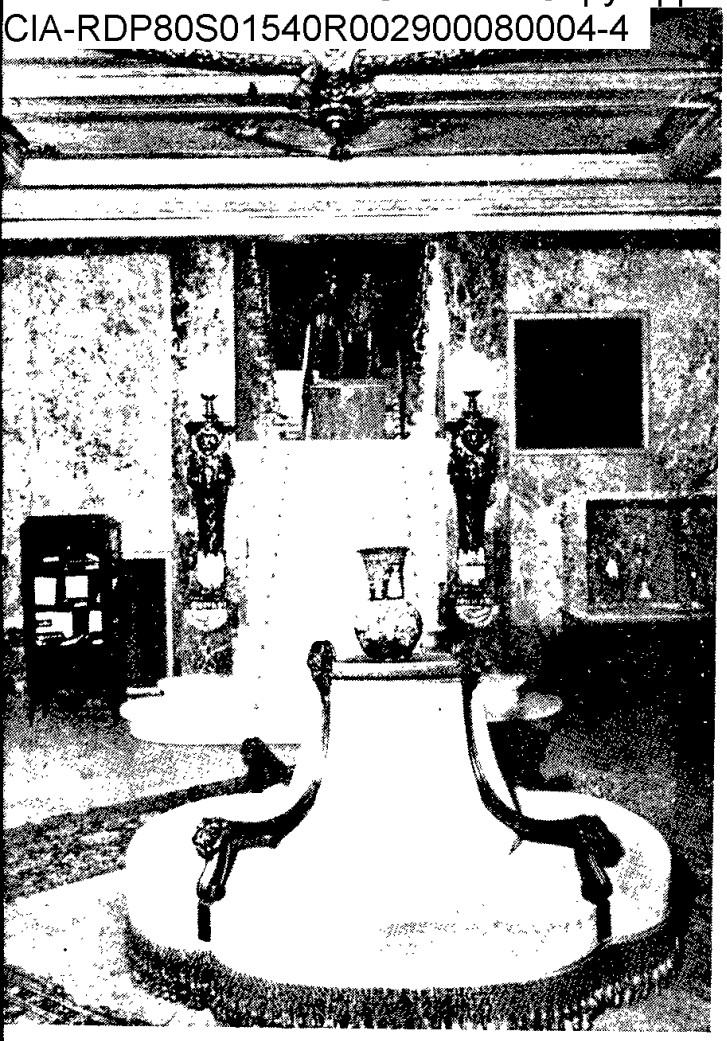

The House of the Writers,
in Bucharest
(Interior)

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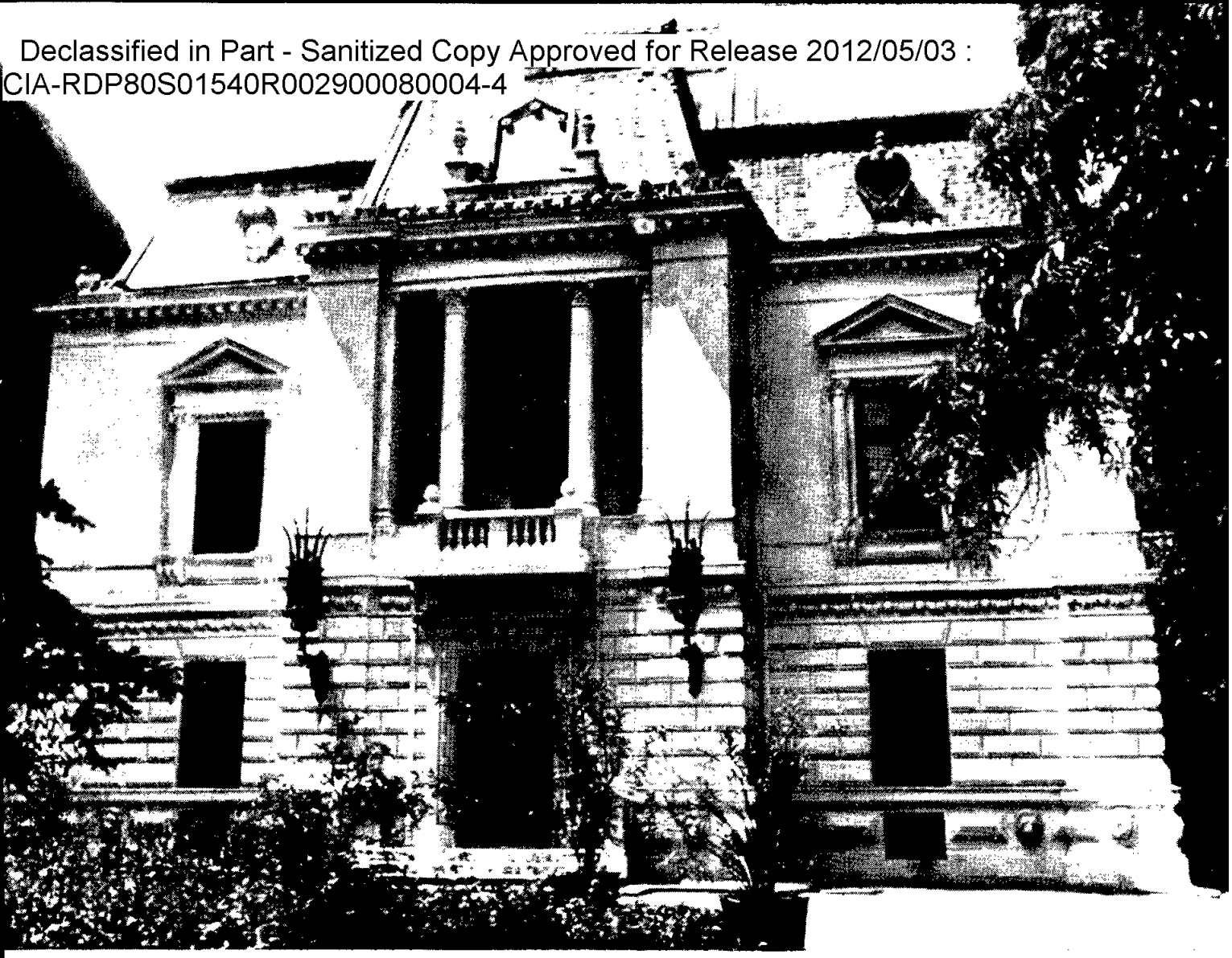

The House of the Writers, in Bucharest

the fundamental changes which the entire social-economic structure of the country has undergone after August 23, 1944, the date of Rumania's national liberation by the glorious Soviet Army. As a result of the setting up and consolidation of the State of people's democracy, and simultaneously with the impetuous rhythm of development of our socialist industry and agriculture, scientific, literary and artistic activity has been stimulated and

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Library of the «Mihail Eminescu» School for Literature and Literary Criticism, in Bucharest

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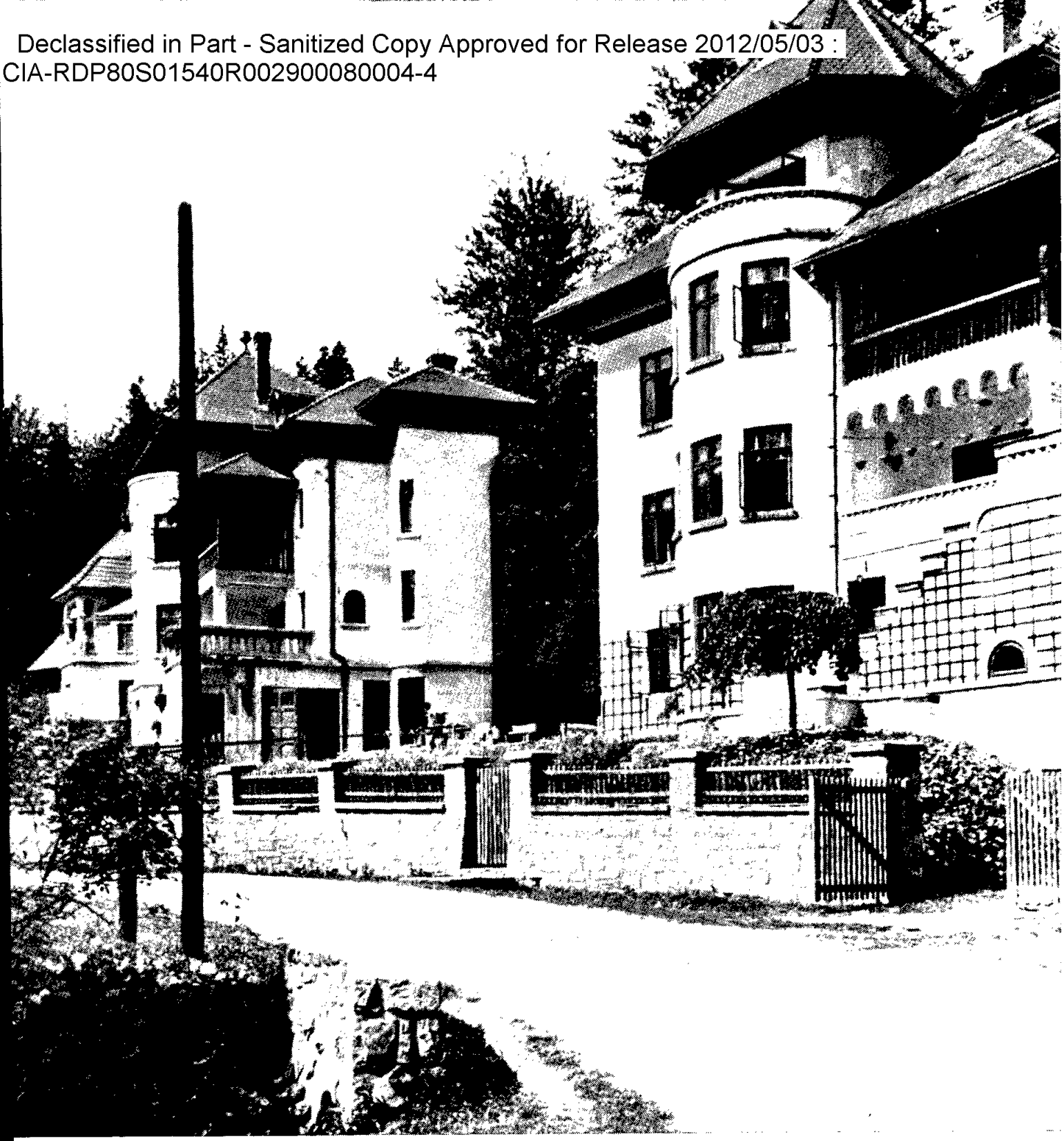

The Writers' House of Creation in Sinaia

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The Scientists' House, Bucharest

supported by every means, the right to education being laid down and guaranteed as one of the fundamental rights of the citizen to whom a high standard of living is ensured at the same time.

The progress achieved in wiping out illiteracy — the burden of which had been allowed by the past regimes to weigh heavily on millions of people — and the large-scale spreading of science and culture in all strata of society account for this yearning for knowledge which finds expression in the purchase of the mass editions in which are issued classical and contemporary works, both in the original languages and in translations; scientific books

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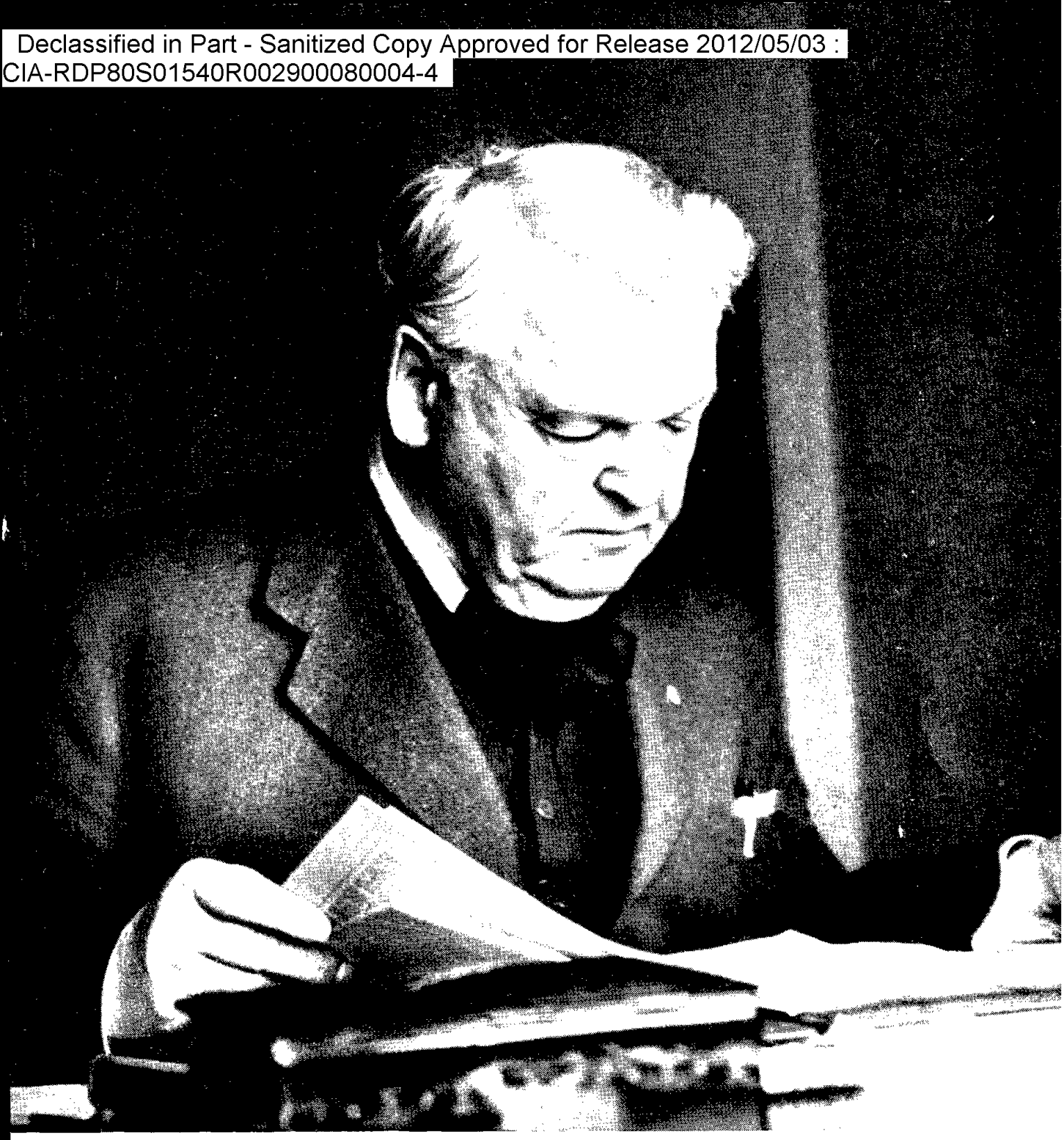

Mihail Sadoveanu

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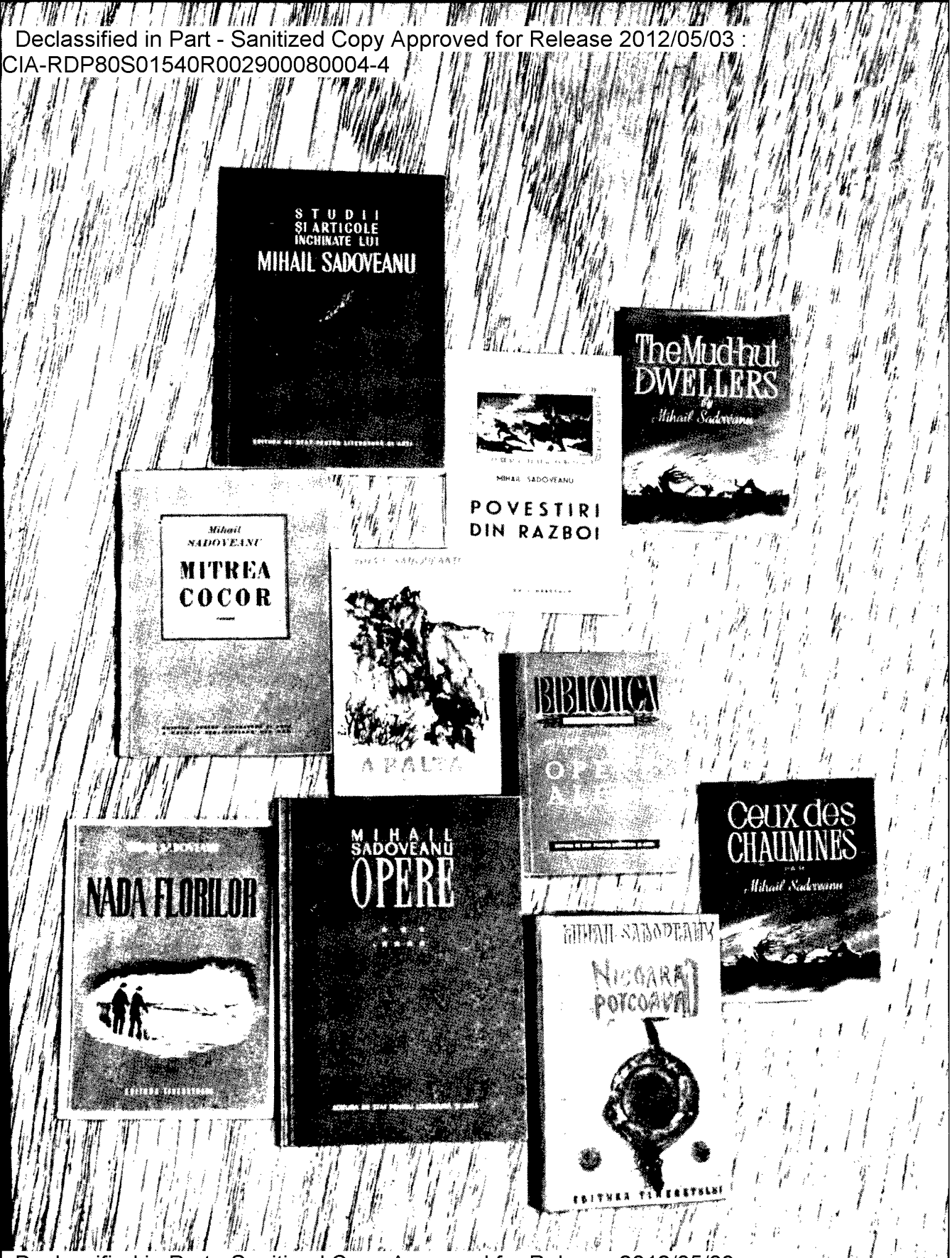

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and books of art and fiction, festive editions or popular pamphlets which enrich the booksellers' windows and the libraries throughout the country.

This is the reason why in the Rumanian People's Republic books are within everyone's reach and why a high standard both with regard to the contents of books and to their aspect is the concern of our publishing houses.

The age in which the pioneers lived and struggled has gone never to return. Today the interests of the people and those of the State and of the creators of spiritual values are alike.

Progressing along the path of socialist realism, Mihail Sadoveanu, President of the Union of Writers of the Rumanian People's Republic, has raised to a high artistic level whatever was valid in his rich creation of the past. His novel *Mitrea Cocor*, which has been translated in numerous languages is the story of an oppressed peasant who finds the path of truth and struggle along which he courageously proceeds until final victory. The readers' interest and appreciation of this book account for its being published in a large number of successive editions whose circulation amounts to 110,000 copies. The award of the Gold Peace Medal to the novel *Mitrea Cocor* is not only a distinction conferred for «its exceptional contribution to the cause of promoting peace among the nations,» as the honorary diploma signed by F. Joliot-Curie and Pietro Nenni specifies, but also a considerable victory of Rumanian literature.

The perfecting of Mihail Sadoveanu's art is also manifest in his recent historical tale *Nicoară Potcoavă* whose plot takes place in Moldavia in the 16th century when, under the leadership of Ion Vodă the Terrible's brother and supported by the valiant Kossaks from beyond the Dniester, the people again rose to struggle against the Turkish oppressors.

Lighting the experience of a life linked to the struggle of the working class, the ever brilliant flame of patriotism shines in the inspired lines of A. Toma whose literary activity spreads over more than half a century. *The Song of Life*, a volume for which the poet was awarded the State Prize first class, glorifies the luminous life of the liberated working people.

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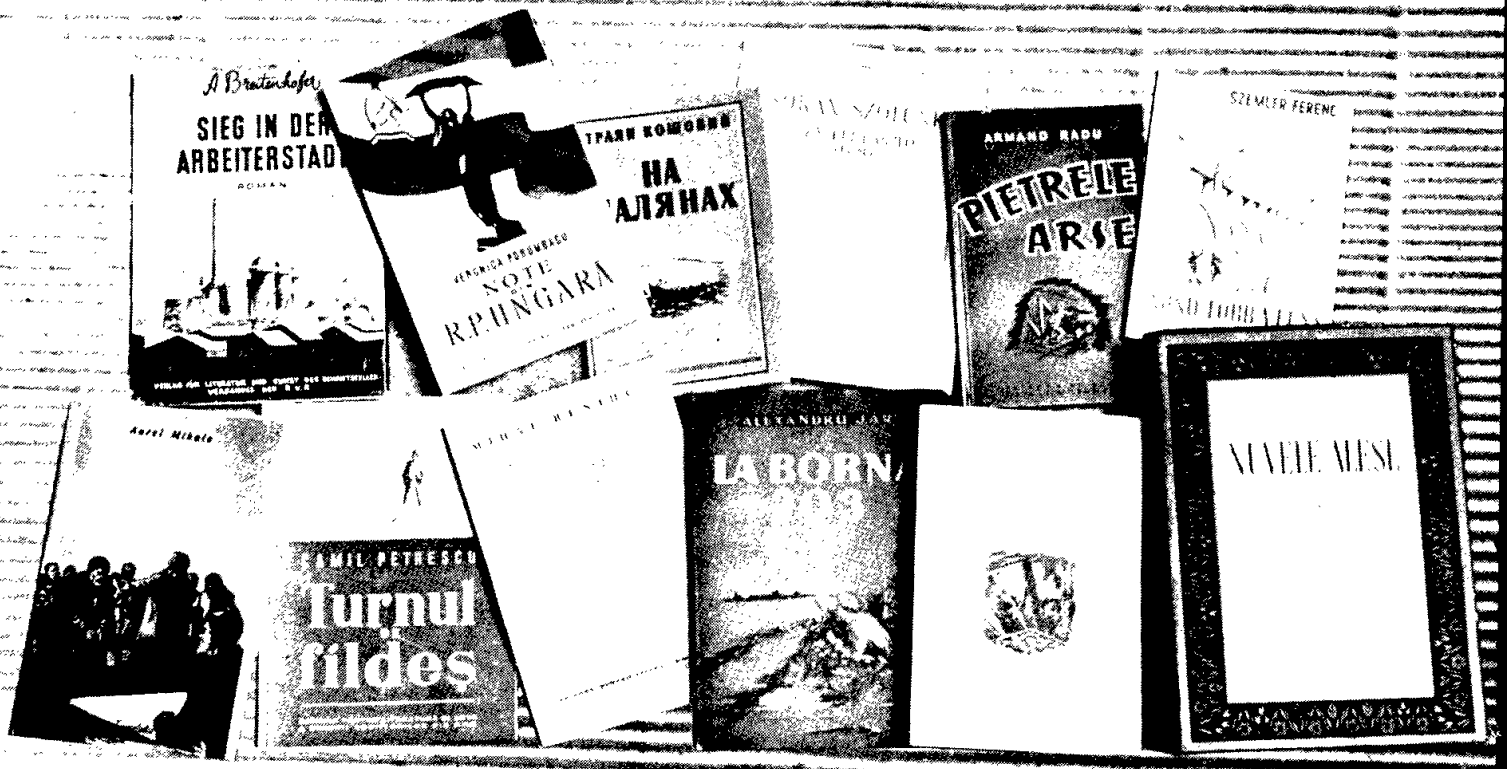

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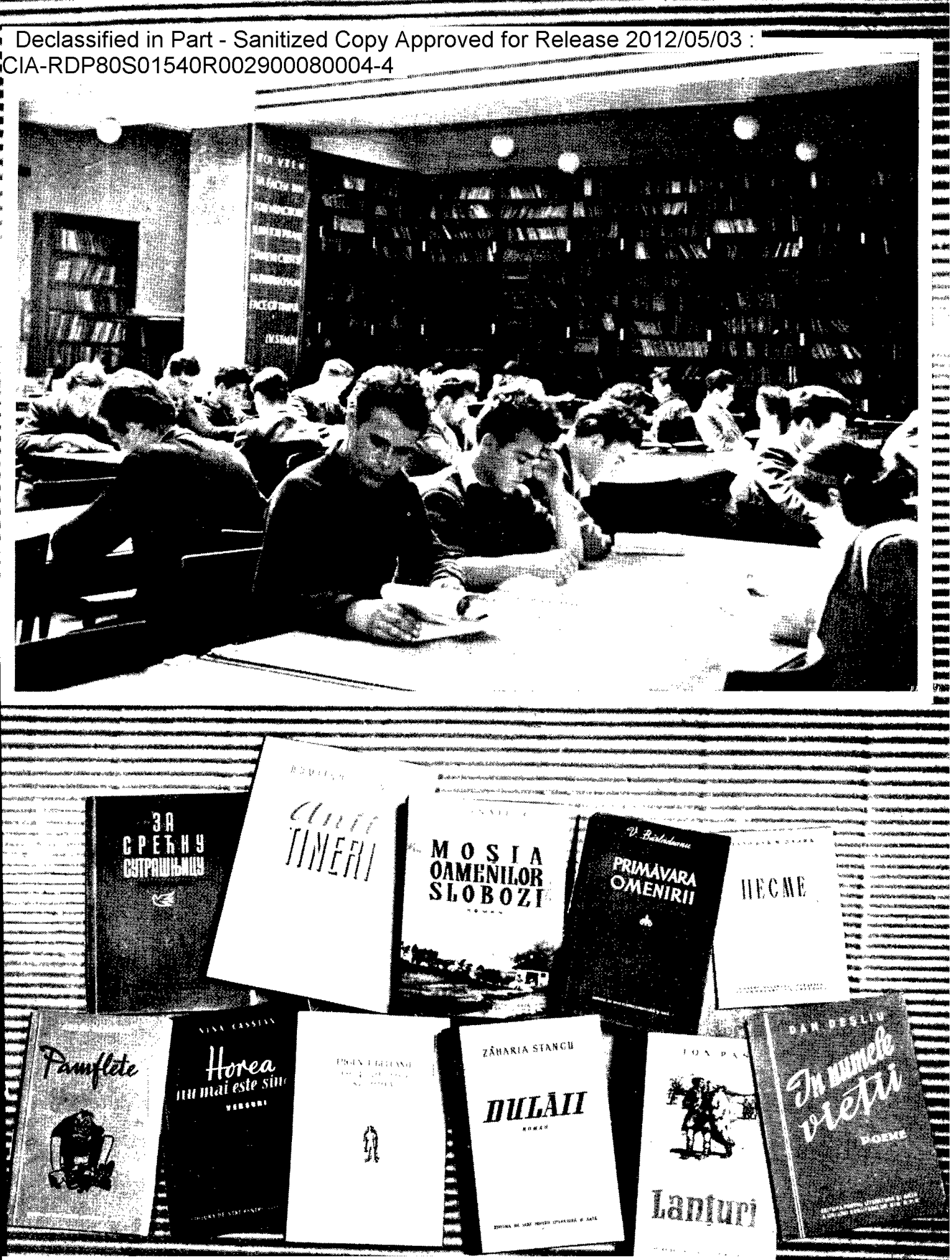

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Vsevolod Ivanov participating in a literary circle in Bucharest

Jorge Amado among the Rumanian writers

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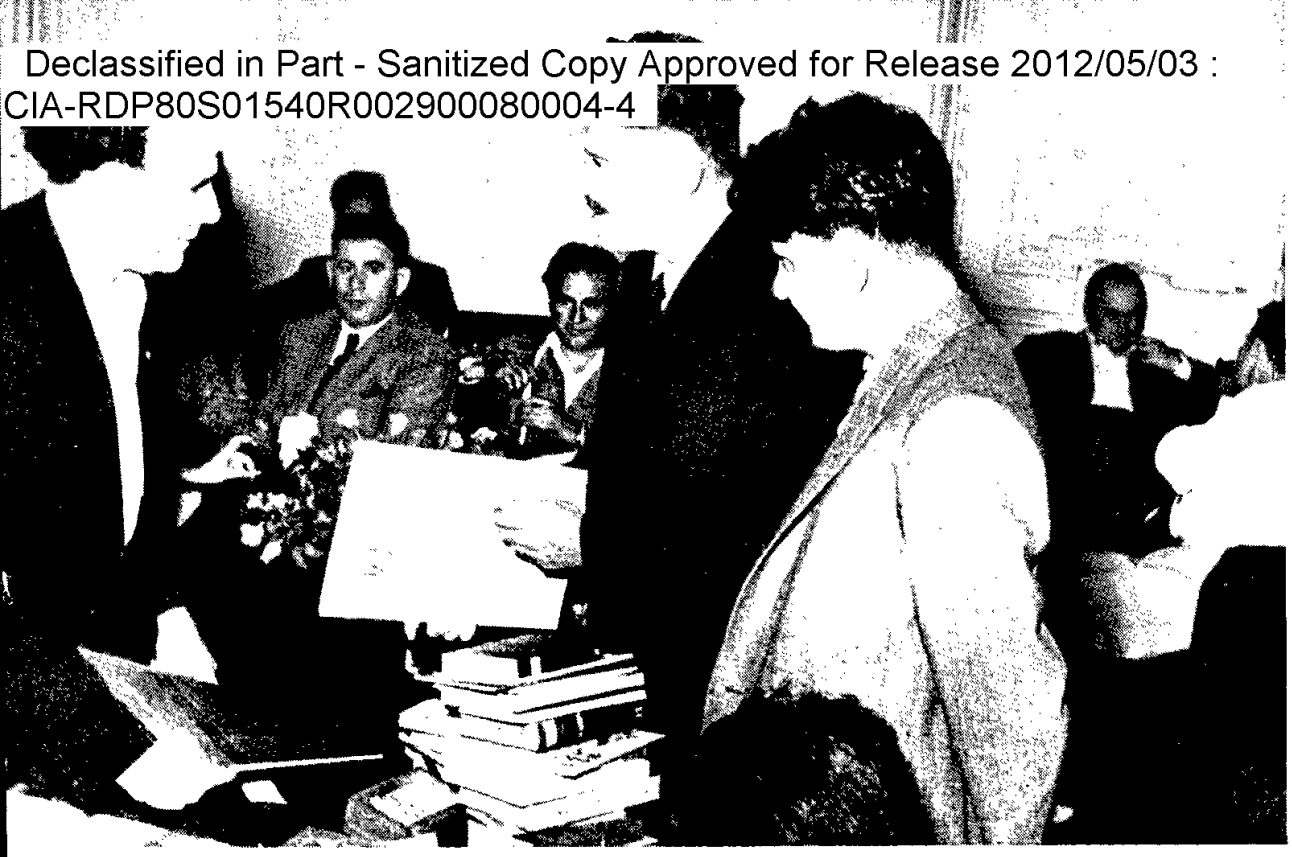

Nazim Hikmet among the Rumanian writers

Semion Babayevsky
at the Union of Writers in the R.P.R.

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Mary Endicott visiting the «J. V. Stalin» Scânteia House Printing Works, in Bucharest

Both Mihail Sadoveanu and A. Toma are members of the Academy of the Rumanian People's Republic and outstanding militants in the sphere of social life, living examples for the younger generation of writers.

From this generation have risen poets, prose writers and playwrights who are artistically portraying in their works the rich life of the new man and its characteristic features. Foremost among them are the poets Mihai Beniuc, Dan Deşliu, Eugen Jebeleanu, Eugen Frunză, Veronica Porumbacu, Maria Banuş, Nina Cassian, the prose writers Petru Dumitriu, Ion Călugăru, Eusebiu Camilar, Alexandru Jar, Zaharia Stancu, Niculae Jianu, Marin

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Preda and others. In the past two years State Prizes consecrated the achievements of most of these poets and prose writers among which: M. Beniuc's poems, the *Maramureş Miners* by Dan Deşliu, the collection of poems *Testimonies* by Veronica Porumbacu, Laureate of the Berlin Festival Competitions, *Hallowed Days* by E. Frunză, the novel *Dustless Road* by Petru Dumitriu in which this gifted young writer depicts the heroism in labour of the builders on a great construction site of Socialism, the novel *The Source of Light* by N. Jianu which describes the construction of a hydroelectric power station. Other writers awarded the State Prize portray aspects of the struggle for the socialist transformation of agriculture, for constantly improving the welfare of the working peasantry, as for instance Eusebiu Camilar in his novel *The Foundations*, and the Hungarian novelist in the Rumanian People's Republic, Horváth István, in his *Pooled Fields*. Among the other literary works which have been awarded this lofty distinction are books devoted to the struggle waged for freedom and progress in the past. Among these are the novel *The Dawn of Slaves* by V. Em. Galan and *An End to Petitions*, the first volume of the trilogy devoted by Al. Jar to the great struggles waged by the working people employed with the Rumanian Railways, around 1933. *Great Preparations*, the second volume of this trilogy, has recently come off the presses. Another valuable book is the novel *Red in Tooth and Claw* by the Hungarian writer in the Ruamnian People's Republic György Kovács, deputy to the Grand National Assembly.

Among the valuable literary works published recently we may cite novels and short stories — *The Dogs* by Zaharia Stancu, *Evolution* by Marin Preda, *White Bread* by D. Mircea — and literary reports. To this latter literary genre much cherished by the broad strata of readers, Geo Bogza contributed with his outstanding poetical talent by writing *The Gates of Grandeur* in which he describes aspects of the great constructions of Socialism with rare suggestive power.

The anthology *New Poetry in the R.P.R.* which has been published in exceptional technical conditions in a large edition, is of outstanding import-

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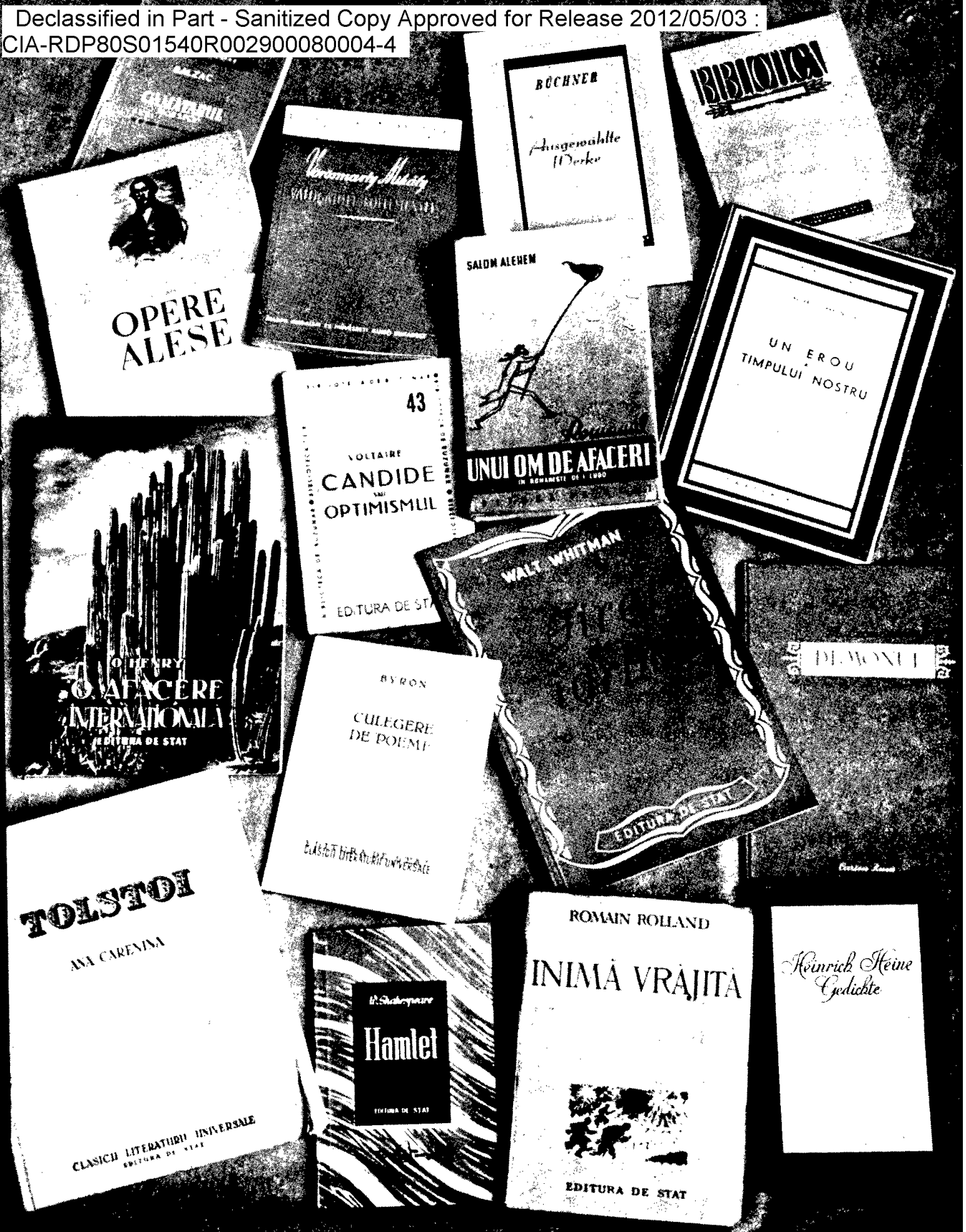

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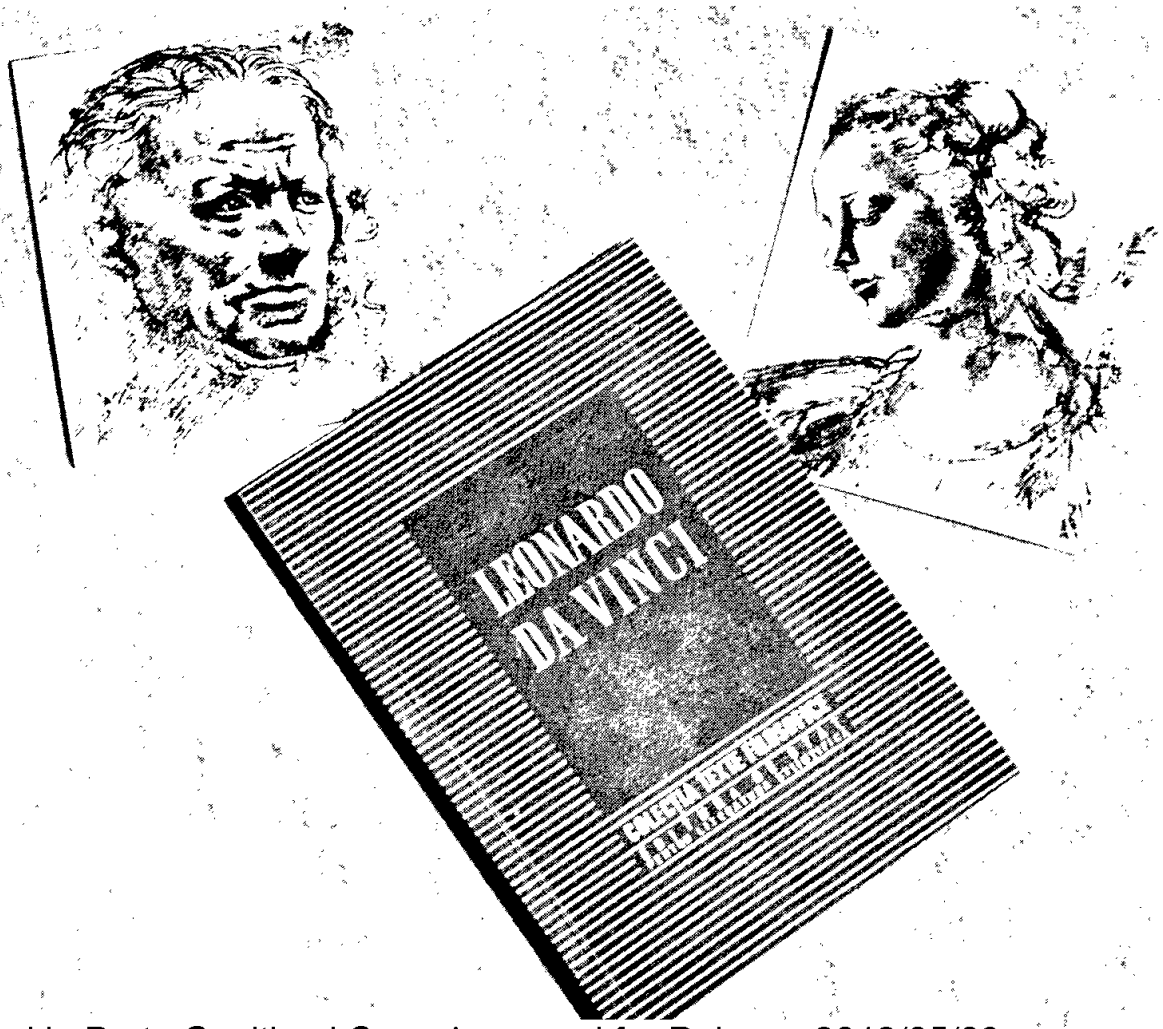

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ance. This big volume comprises works written by 32 poets well-known to millions of the new readers in the R.P.R. The themes taken up by these poets refer to the vast and ever fresh theme of the new life in our country, the varied style of the poems evidencing the richness and versatility of the gifted authors.

In the fields of theatrical plays, too, outstanding works have been written and published in the respective series initiated by the State Publishing House for Literature and Art: *For the Happiness of the People* by N. Moraru and A. Baranga, a State Prize award, *The Fiery City* and *The Miners* by M. Davidoglu, *Matei Millo* by Mircea Ştefănescu which has likewise been awarded a prize, *People of Today* by Lucia Demetrius, and many other plays both in Rumanian and in the languages of the national minorities of the R.P.R.

The successes of our new literature are also reflected in the fact that a far larger number of books than in the past has been translated into many foreign languages. Among these books are some by M. Sadoveanu, P. Dumitriu, Z. Stancu, Al. Jar, E. Camilar, I. Călugăru and others, designed to enrich the Rumanian literature which the readers abroad knew only through a few translations from the works of Eminescu, Creangă, Vlahuţă, Caragiale and some other older writers. Moreover, the visits of certain outstanding foreign writers as Jorge Amado, Nazim Hikmet, Vsevolod Ivanov, S. Babayevsky, Mary Endicott, Bozarg and others, as well as the exchange of experience with Rumanian writers which these visits occasioned, have contributed towards reciprocal knowledge and strengthening cultural relations.

The celebration of great anniversaries initiated at the Vienna Session of the World Peace Council has called forth a wide response in the R.P.R. Celebrating personalities such as Victor Hugo, Gogol and Leonardo da Vinci — mankind's boasts — the world opened its gates to those «who want to build up peace» — as the much regretted Yves Farge said — united in their ardent desire to know one another, to carry on a free exchange of views and to seek together the best ways and means of solving the vital problems which preoccupy mankind. Within the framework of these cultural manifestations

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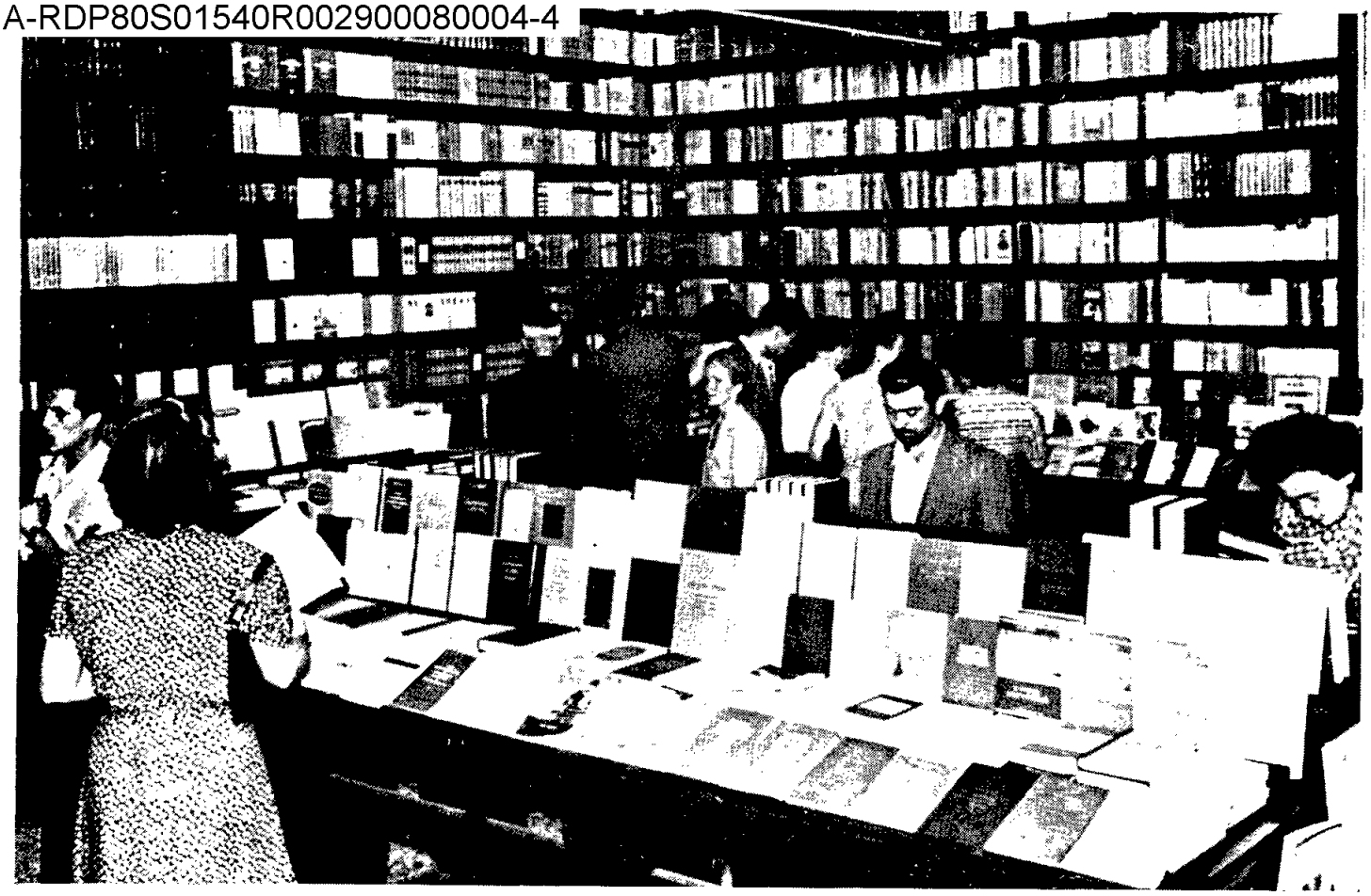

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the State Publishing House for Literature and Art, the « Cartea Rusă » Publishing House, the Youth Publishing House and others have printed splendid festive editions in the classical series. An anthology of *Poetry* by V. Hugo, translated by the most outstanding Rumanian poets in co-operation with a group of philologists and literary historians, has been brought out, as well as a fragment from *Les Misérables*, the integral translation of

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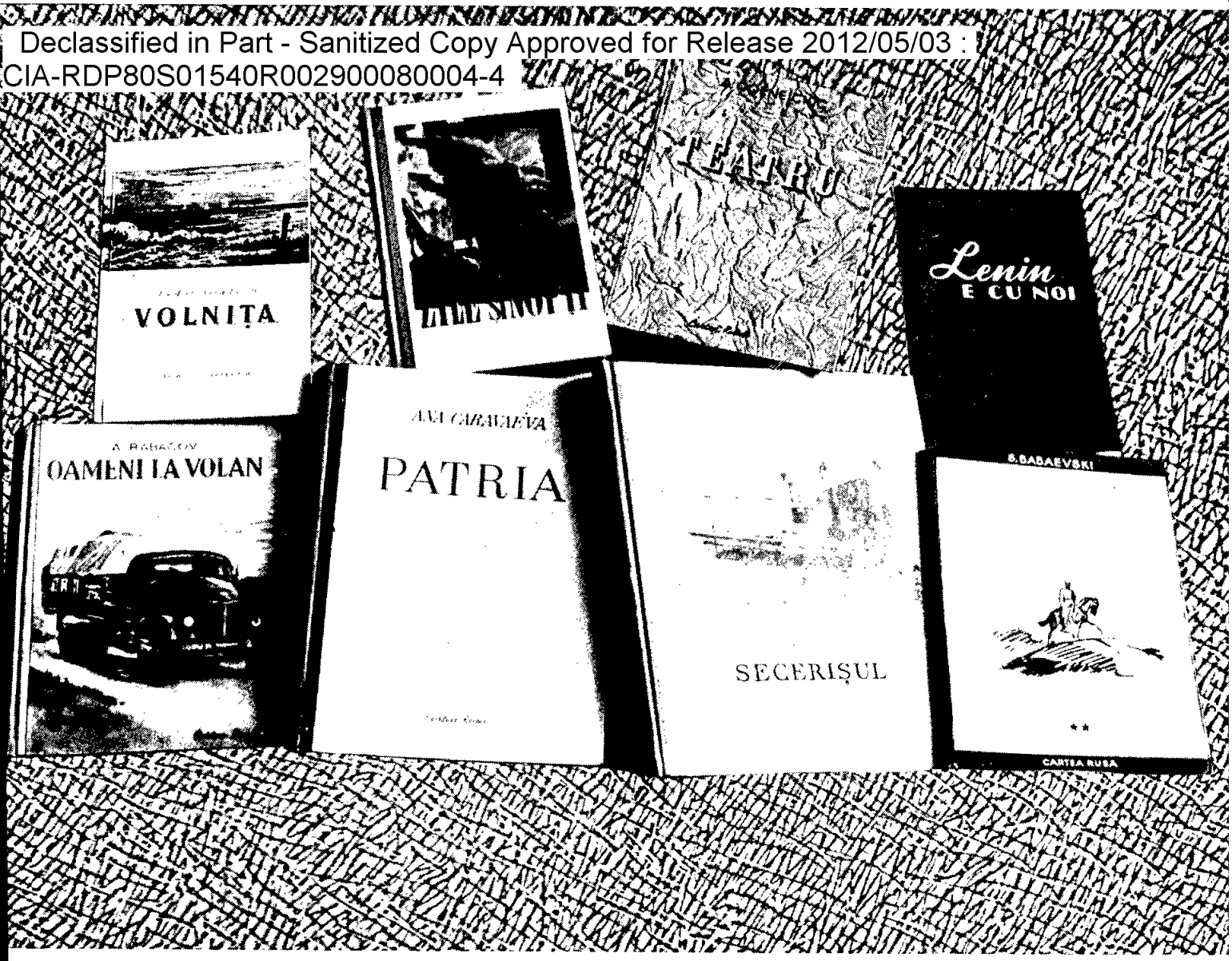

which is in progress. From among Gogol's works, our publishing houses have printed the immortal comedy *The Inspector General* which was a great success on the stage of the National Theatre, being acted in an exceptional cast, the novel *Taras Bulba* (40,000 copies), etc.

As part of the celebrations in honour of the 500th anniversary of the birth of Leonardo da Vinci, the genius of the Renaissance, a rich art album was

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edited and the Publishing House for Scientific Literature printed a volume of homage in the series concerned with philosophic texts.

The classics of world literature enjoy wide popularity among the readers in the Rumanian People's Republic and our publishing houses bestow great care on the various editions of their works and on the accuracy of the Rumanian translations. The best translations from the classics published last year — such as the translation of Pushkin's *Ruslan and Ludmila* made by the poets Al. Philippide and Miron Radu Paraschivescu, and the translation of Lermontov's *Demon* by Al. Philippide have been awarded the State Prize. Among the numerous classical works translated lately, we cite: *Othello, Hamlet, Anthony and Cleopatra* by Shakespeare — the translation of Shakespeare's complete work is being prepared; *Tartuffe* and *George Dandin* by Molière, *Gulliver's Travels* by Swift; *Selected Poems* from Byron; *Great Expectations* (Dickens); *Egmont* (Goethe); *Eugénie Grandet* and *La Cousine Bette* (Balzac); *Money* (Zola); *Fables* by Krylov; *Klim Samghin* and *The Mother* (Gorky); *Short Stories* (Chekhov); *War and Peace* and *Anna Karenina* (Tolstoy); *Leaves of Grass* (Whitman); *The Tramps* (J. London); *Poems* (Petöfi); *The Fan* (Goldoni); *Under the Yoke* (Vazov); *Dogs' Heads*, (Jirasek), etc.

Every publishing house brings out a series of works by the classics of world literature, each according to its domain.

Literature and the arts are on the upsurge in our country. « And this, — as I. Chişinevski, Vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party points out — reflects on the one hand the rapid rise in the cultural level of the masses, being on the other hand the result of the creative method of socialist realism. » The admirable example of Soviet literature which is a school and a constant encouragement to our writers, has greatly helped them to master this method. Among the works of exceptional value which have rendered such assistance we cite: *The Mother* by Gorky, Maiakovky's *Poems*, *The Young Guard* by A. Fadeev, *Quiet Flows the Don* by Sholokhov, *The Calvary* by A. Tolstoy,

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The Making of a Hero by Ostrovsky, *The Storm* by Ehrenburg, *Days and Nights* by C. Simonov, *Far from Moscow* by Azhaev, C. Fedin's novels, the poetry of Schipachov, Tikhonov and Dolmatovsky, and numberless other works which today are favourites with millions of working people, young and old, in the Rumanian People's Republic. The readers' preference for Soviet books accounts for the large editions in which such works are printed. In the past years, the « Cartea Rusă » Publishing House alone has brought out 1,468 books in total editions of 20,750,000 copies, 406 of these books being in the languages of the national minorities in the Rumanian People's Republic. The novel *Virgin Soil Upturned* by M. Sholokhov, which, being much required by the readers in rural areas, has so far been published in five editions with a total circulation of over 145,000 copies, is among the most successful translations.

The interest and love of our people for Soviet books are accounted for by the impetuous strength with which these books inspire the people in their struggle for the victory of peace and friendship among the nations, as well as by their high artistic and educational value.

Our readers also peruse with sympathy and interest the literature of the countries linked to the Rumanian People's Republic by brotherly ties, and the works of progressive writers the world over describing the struggles of their people for freedom and peace. The literature of the Chinese People's Republic is represented by the works of outstanding writers such as Lu Sin (*The Native Village*), the founder of realistic Chinese literature whose tradition is being successfully carried on in the works of contemporary Chinese writers from among whom Rumanian readers know: Din Lin, Laureate of the Stalin Prize for Literature (*The Sun Rises over River Sangan*), Chiu Li Bo, likewise Laureate of the Stalin Prize for Literature (*The Hurricane*) Chiao Su Li (*A valuable Asset*), Liu Bai Iui (*Three Soldiers*), and others. The anthology *Korean Poetry* — brought out by the State Publishing House for Literature and Art with the co-operation of some of the best Rumanian

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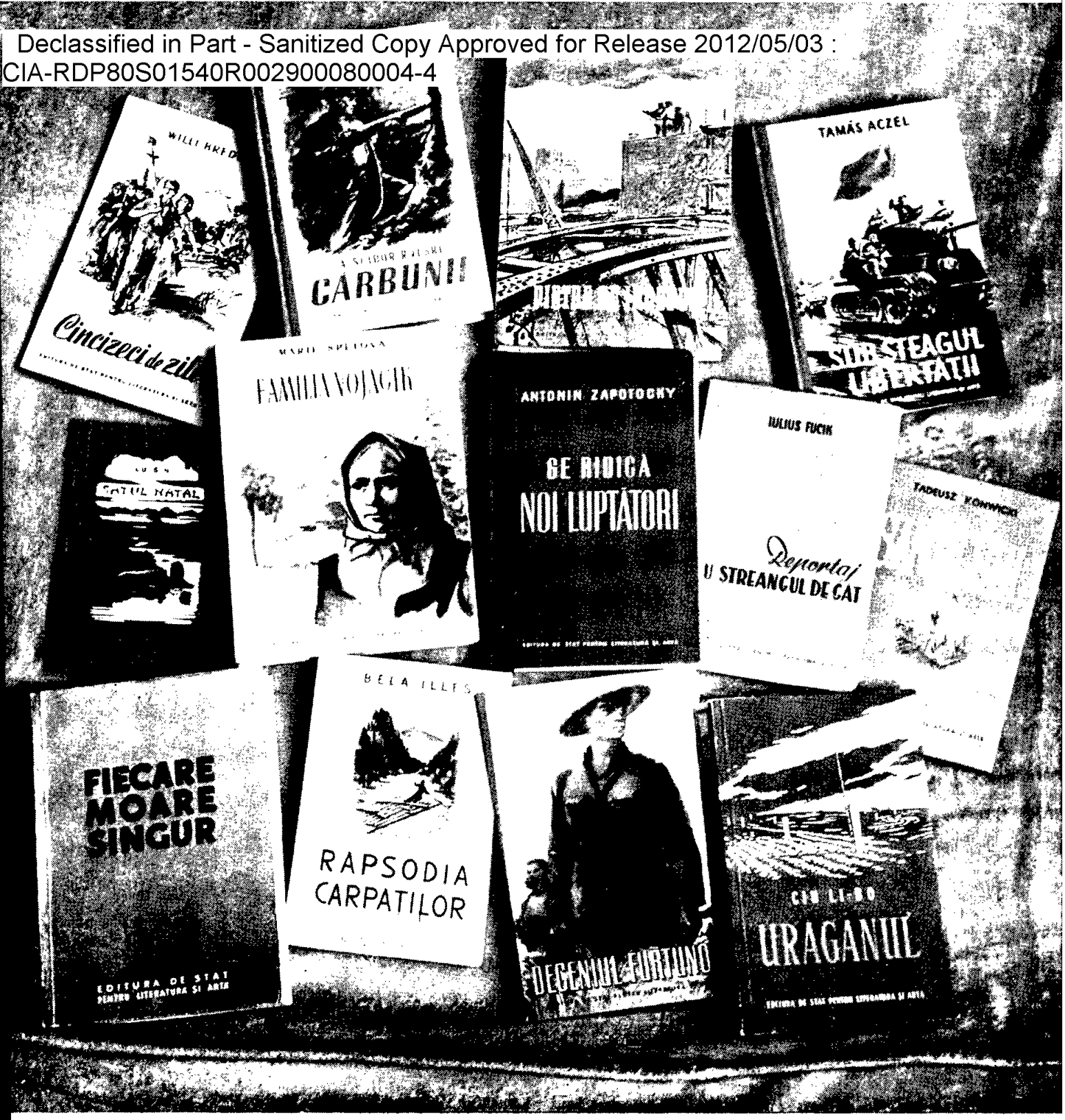

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poets — has made a great impression upon our people, arousing a feeling of ardent solidarity with the great struggle of the Korean people.

The literature of neighbourly friendly countries which is animated by the same ideals as our own literature keeps the Rumanian reader abreast of the achievements of the working people in the countries of people's democracy, of their progressive culture and tradition. Translations have been published of classical and contemporary Hungarian writers such as: Moricz Zsigmond (*The Highwayman and His Prancing Bay Horse*), Tamas Aczel, Stalin Prize Laureate (*Under the Banner of Freedom*), Illés Béla, Ferencz Karinthy, etc.; moreover an anthology of contemporary Hungarian poetry is being prepared, the presentation of which will be at the same level as those of the poems by Sándor Petöfi and Endre Ady. The commemoration of the revolutionary Bulgarian poet N. Vaptzarov has enjoyed wide popularity in the Rumanian People's Republic. Reading the collection of *Poems* published on this occasion, Rumanian readers have come to know and love the poetry of N. Vaptzarov which is pervaded with the pathos of the struggle for freedom and peace. Bulgarian literature is also represented by the novels: *The Gueratchi Saga* by Elin Pelin, *The Machine and Tractor Station* by Andrei Guliasky, Laureate of the Dimitrov Prize, and by a volume of *Bulgarian Poems*. From the new Czech and Slovak literature which has been on the upsurge for the five years since the February victory of the Czechoslovak people, numerous works have been translated among which the famous *A Feature Report at the Foot of the Gallows* by the unforgettable Julius Fuchik, works by outstanding prose writers such as: Alois Jirasek and Jan Drda, and the novels *New Fighters Rise* by A. Zapotecky, *The Vojachik Family* by N. Spetova, *The Proletarian* by Ivan Olbracht, etc. From the literature of the builders of new, democratic people's Poland, valuable works, novels awarded national prizes have been translated such as: *No. 16 Produces* by Jan Wilczek, *Plewa's Example* by Bogdan Hamera, *The Beginning of the Epic* by Marian Brandys as well as other works by J. Putrament, S. Rylsly, T. Konwicky, etc. The masses of readers appreciate the works of writers in the German Democratic

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Republic: Anna Seghers, Laureate of the Stalin International Prize « For the Consolidation of Peace Among Nations, » whose novel *The Dead Stay Young* is a pathetic appeal against war; Willy Bredel (*50 Days*), B. Kellerman, Hans Fallada (*Each of Us Dies Alone*), Bertold Brecht, etc. The recently published volume of *Albanian Short Stories* has aroused great interest.

The outstanding progressive writers throughout the world who place their talent in the service of the noble cause of peace and friendship among the nations and of the liberation struggle waged by their people are appreciated and loved by the readers in the Rumanian People's Republic. The works of some of them have been translated nearly in their entirety keeping pace with their publication in the original language, while others are known by their best books. Such are the novels of the Laureate of the Stalin International Prize « For the Consolidation of Peace among Nations » Jorge Amado (*The Knight of Hope*, *Lawless Land*, *The Land of Golden Fruits*, *Red Harvest*) which herald to the world that nothing and no one will prevent the people from triumphing over tyrants whose days are numbered. Nearly all the works of the progressive American novelist Howard Fast have been translated into Rumanian. Pablo Neruda's *Poems*, full of pathos enlivened with daring similes, and the poetry of Nazim Hikmet which is instinct with love of freedom, have found good translators in Rumanian. André Stil's novel *The First Blow* which was awarded the Stalin Prize for Literature, and the cycle *The Communists* by Aragon have won a well-deserved success among our readers. Apart from these, the works of other writers have been translated and published in large editions. Among these we cite M. Andersen Nexö, Ezzio Tadei, Stefan Heym, Tokunaga, Albert Maltz, Alves Redol, James Aldrige, Simone Téry, Renata Vigano, Alexander Saxton.

Heading the struggle for the victory of the cultural revolution in the Rumanian People's Republic, the working class under the leadership of the Rumanian Workers' Party unfolds a vast and organized work to educate the working people from an ideological point of view, spreading the great ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin among ever broader masses. The Publish-

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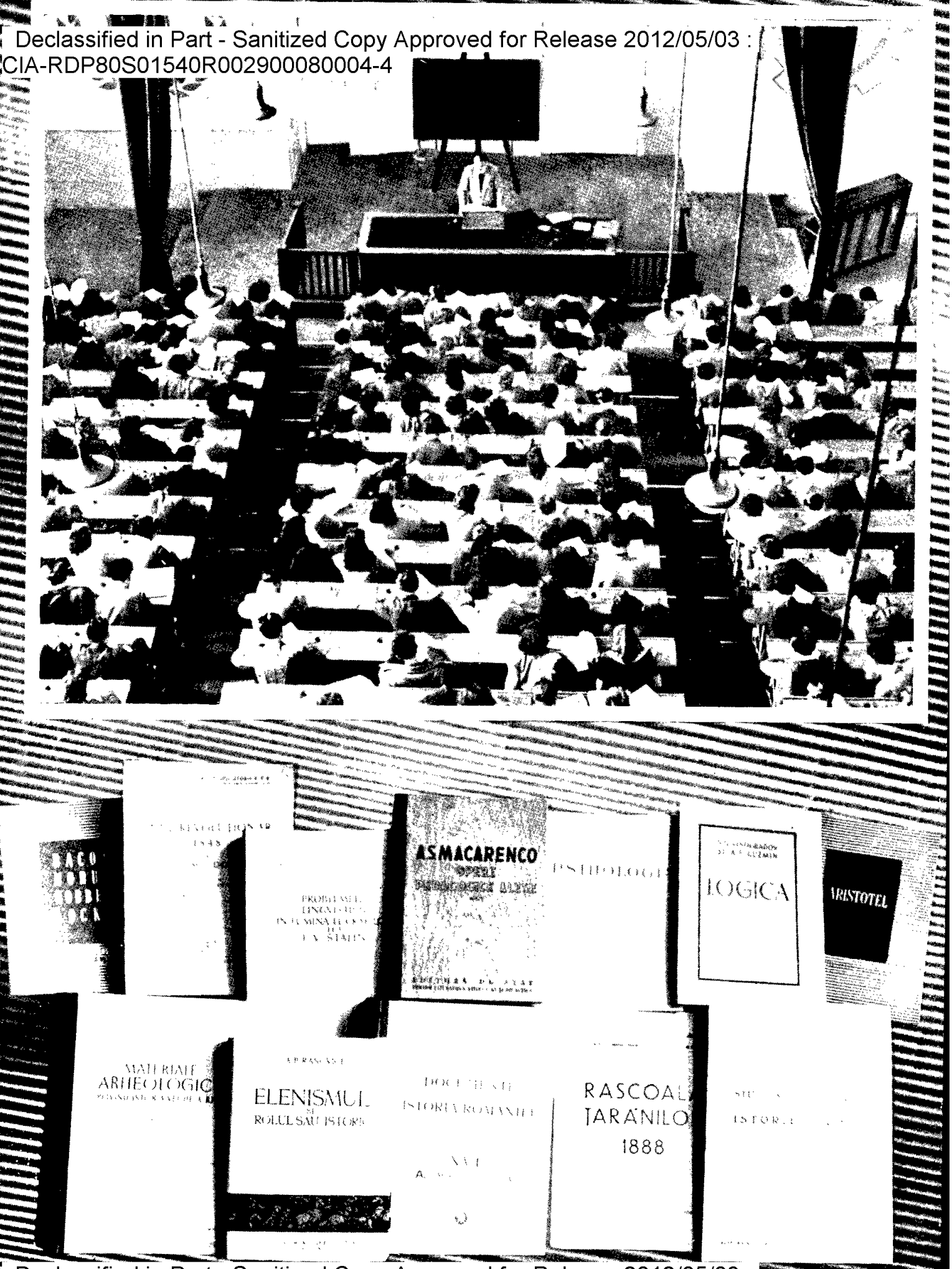

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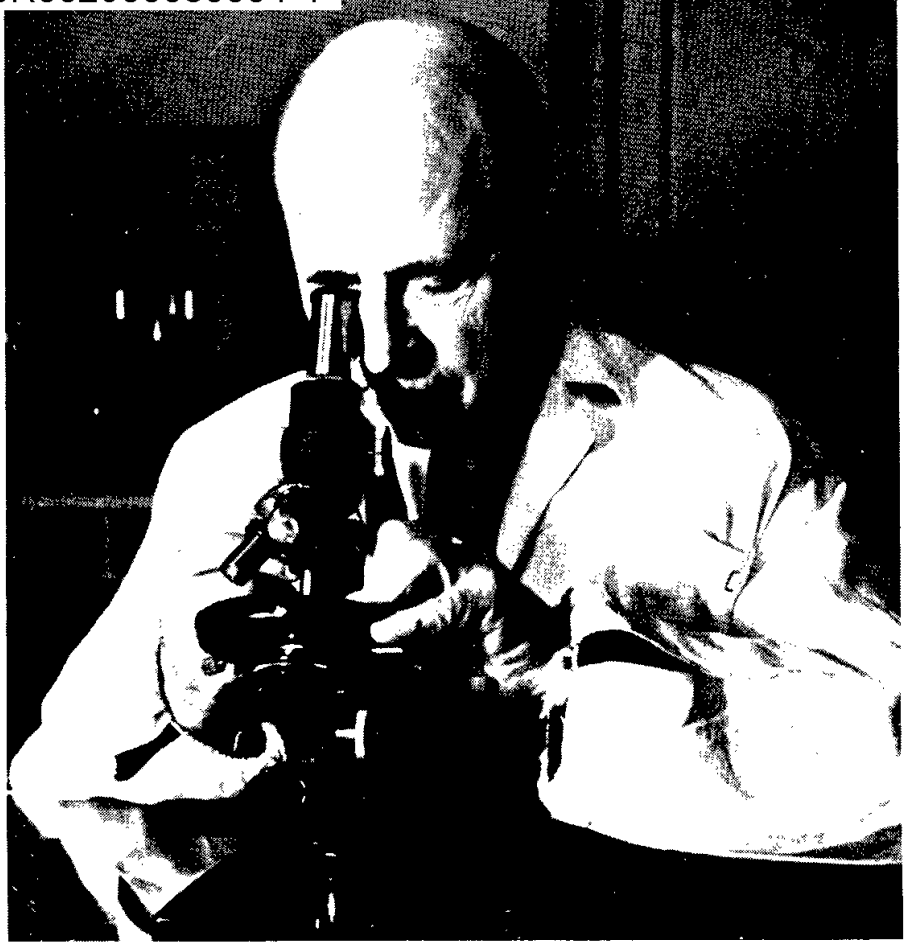

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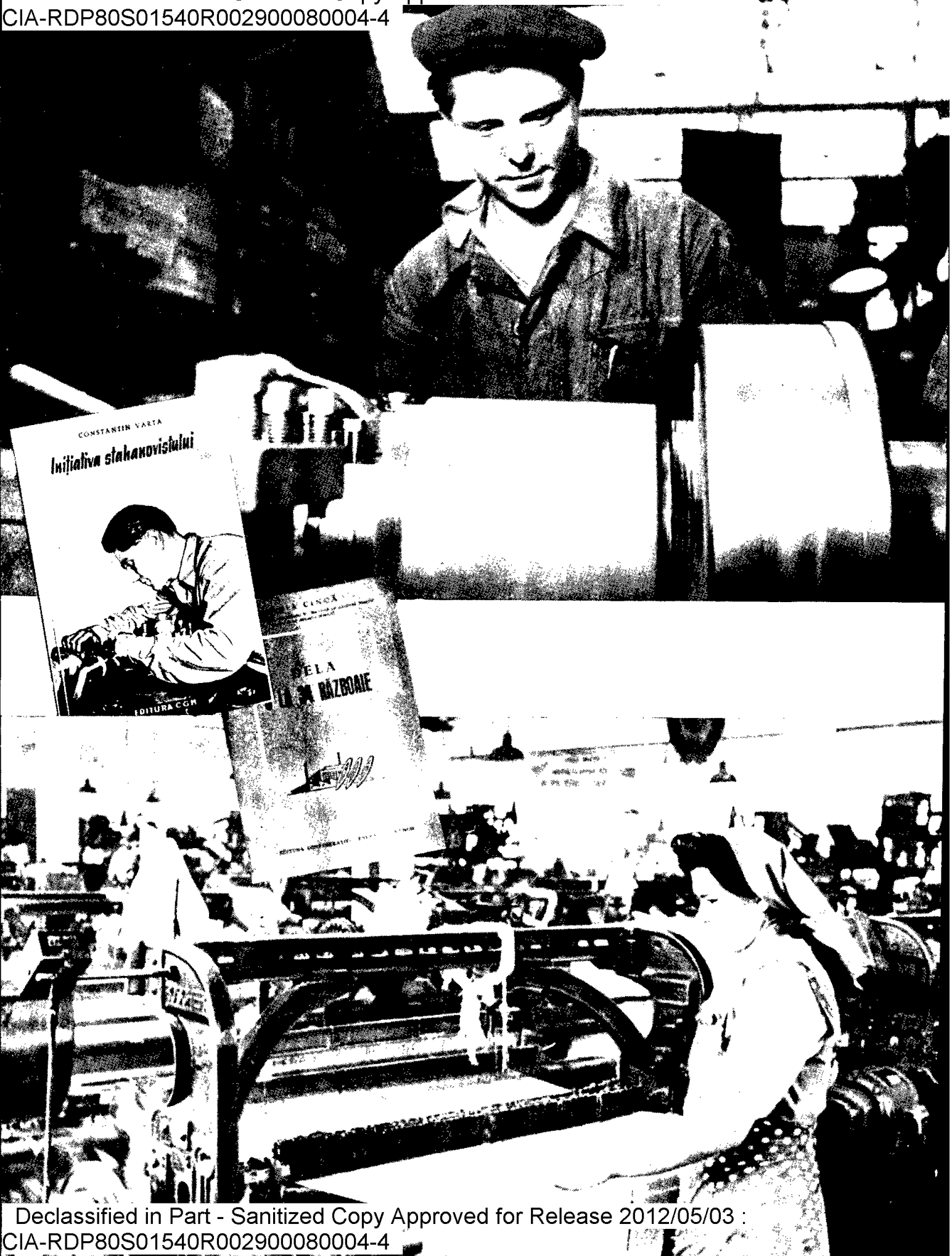

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ing House for Political Literature has so far brought out the works of Marxist-Leninist classics in editions of over 11.377,000 copies. The first 13 volumes of J. V. Stalin's works have been published in a total edition of 1,000,000 copies and that work of genius which is his *Economic Problems of Socialism in the U S S R* in 275,000 copies. The documents of the XIXth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, whose world historical significance has been shown by Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej in a comprehensive exposé, have also enjoyed a huge circulation.

A brilliant and creative application of Marxism-Leninism to the conditions prevailing in our country, the works of Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Rumanian People's Republic and General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party, is a constant and invaluable guide in the work and struggle for building Socialism. His selected *Articles and Speeches* guide and rally the energy of the people, assisting them in achieving their aspirations.

The works of the leaders of the Communist and Workers' Parties in other countries which have been brought out by the Publishing House for Political Literature — the works of Mao Tse-Tung, Matyas Rakosy, Boleslav Bierut Anton Zapotocky, Vylco Chervenkov, Wilhelm Pieck, Maurice Thorez Palmiro Togliatti, Dolores Ibarruri, William Foster – are also studied with much interest.

Calling upon men of science to struggle for the socialist transformation of the country, the people's democratic State has opened up for them wide creative prospects. Hundreds of men of science, academicians, professors, engineers, technicians, experts in all spheres contribute towards the realization of the daring plans of building Socialism. Taking pride in the fact that their entire activity is placed in the service of the people, men of science such as: Academician Dr. C. I. Parhon, an eminent scholar and endocrinologist, Academician Traian Săvulescu, President of the Academy of the R.P.R. and a famous agro-biologist, Academician Radu Cernătescu, Academician Dr. Danielopolu, are

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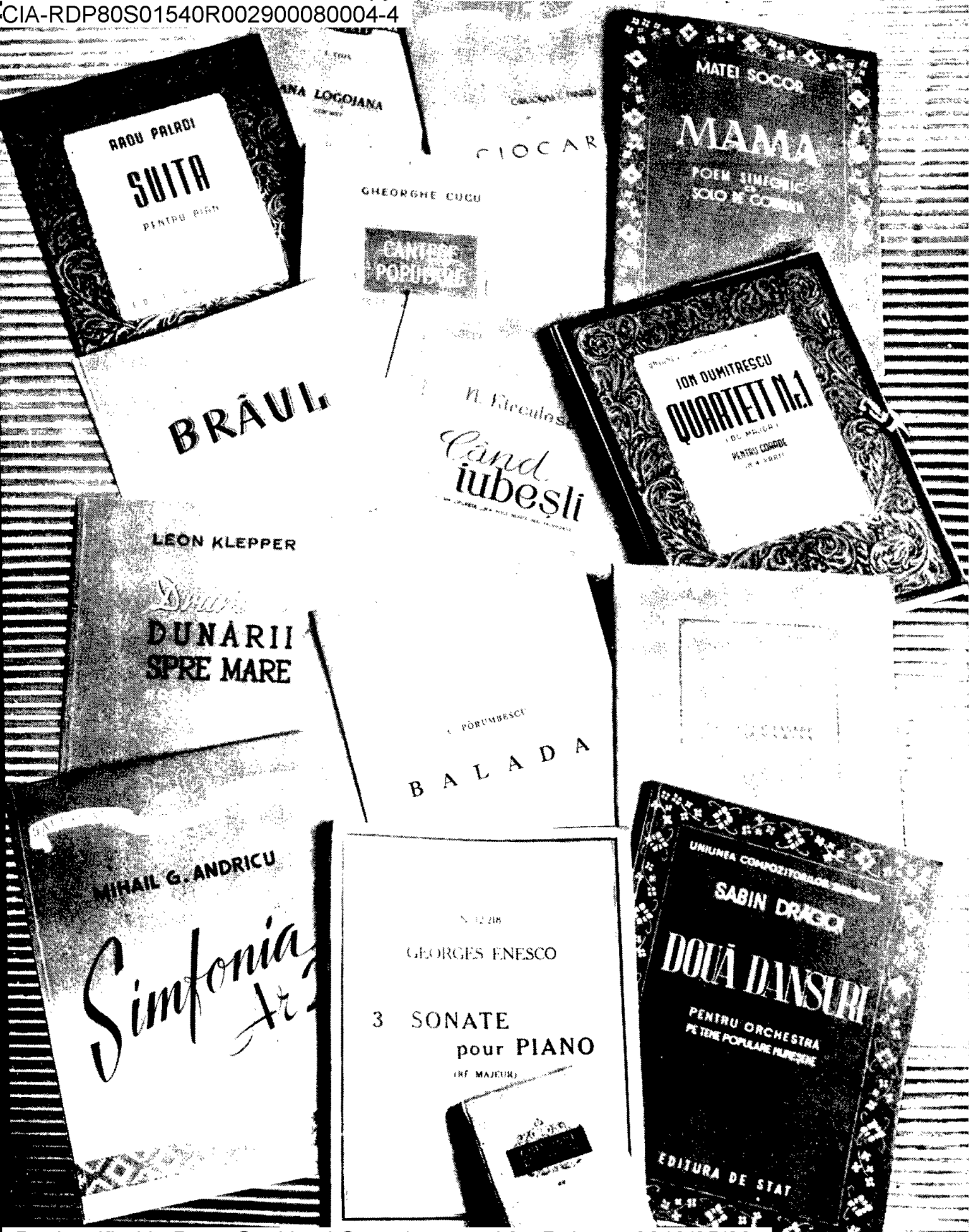

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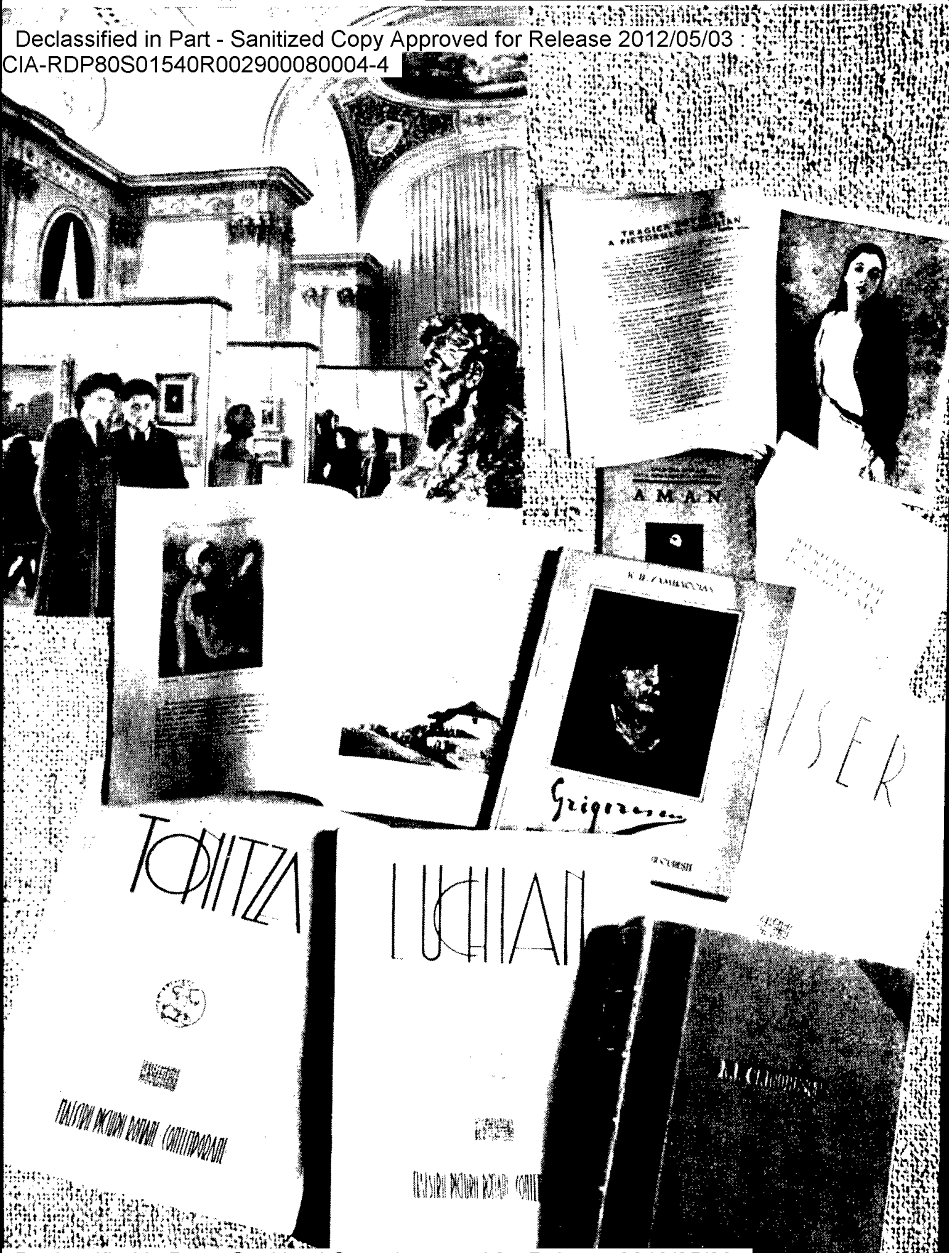

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well-known and greatly appreciated both within the country and abroad. Alongside these young men of science, State Prize Laureates, managing laboratories, experimental farms or expeditions concerned with scientific research bestow on the people valuable books in various spheres: medicine, agro-biology and agro-technique, hydro-energetics, metal technology, aero-dynamics, oil chemistry, mathematics, history, archaeology, pedagogy and psychology.

A large number of translations from Soviet scientific literature or from the works of other foreign scientists enrich with classical and contemporary works the reference material at the disposal of our cadres of experts. Our new intelligentsia constantly swells its ranks by the addition of sons of the people raised to responsible posts who, while going on with their everyday activity, also study at the higher educational institutes. Many Stakhanovites such as the young lathe-operator, hero of socialist labour, Nicolae Vasu, or the weaver Maria Cincă explain their advanced methods of work in various pamphlets. The ranks of our intellectuals are constantly being supplemented with new talents from among the people.

Music and the fine arts have also scored remarkable successes in recent times. The publication in large editions of concert music and light music, as well as of albums of classical and contemporary art reflects the increased cultural requirements of the masses which greatly stimulate the arts. Numerous works by our composers have been published including *Brâul* (A Country Dance) by Paul Constantinescu, State Prize Laureate; *The Ballad of Gheorghe Doja* by R. Pallade, State Prize Laureate; the symphonic poem *The Collapse of Doftana Prison* by A. Mendelsohn who has likewise been awarded the State Prize; the splendid folk song *The Lark* by G. Dinicu; *The Way of the Danube Towards the Sea* by L. Klepper; a *Collection of Songs* and other works. The art albums which have been published in excellent technical conditions have made it their aim to popularize the works of Rumanian classical painters such as Negulici, Rosenthal, Aman,

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Grigorescu and Andreescu as well as the successes scored by our contemporary painters.

The care to give the youth a many-sided education has made it imperative to publish not only books of culture concerned with « humanistic » and scientific-literary preoccupations but also works of physical culture and sports. Among these works we find treatises designed to train the teaching staff and sports trainers, as well as pamphlets popularizing among the broad masses the best methods of getting trained with a thought to their participation in the sports competitions organized throughout the country. The sports which were formerly accessible only to a limited number of young people from among the well-to-do classes have now become an asset of the working masses from among which champions and record holders rise constantly, for the sports are no longer the concern of professional sportsmen.

The nearly one million members of the sports clubs are eager readers of sports literature which deals with the problems that interest them: artistic drill, the technique of basketball, hockey, tennis, the training of ski-runners, swimming and artistic diving, cross-country races, chess, games, the laying out of sports grounds and sports installations.

Sports literature for the youth also comprises fiction, poetry and feature reports dealing with subjects from the life of sportsmen.

The ever increasing concern for the education of the young generation has lately confronted the writers of the R.P.R. with new problems. In this respect, literature for children has a most important role. Hundreds of thousands of young citizens in the Rumanian People's Republic are very active and impassioned readers. A good book, of whatever kind, touches deep chords in their hearts and gives rise to interesting comments. The libraries attached to the schools and the small private libraries owned by the children comprise ever more books in keeping with the slogan launched at the last plenum of the Union of Writers: « A great literature for the small ones. »

Apart from works by Rumanian classics and satisfactory translations from foreign literature, the Youth Publishing House brings out the works

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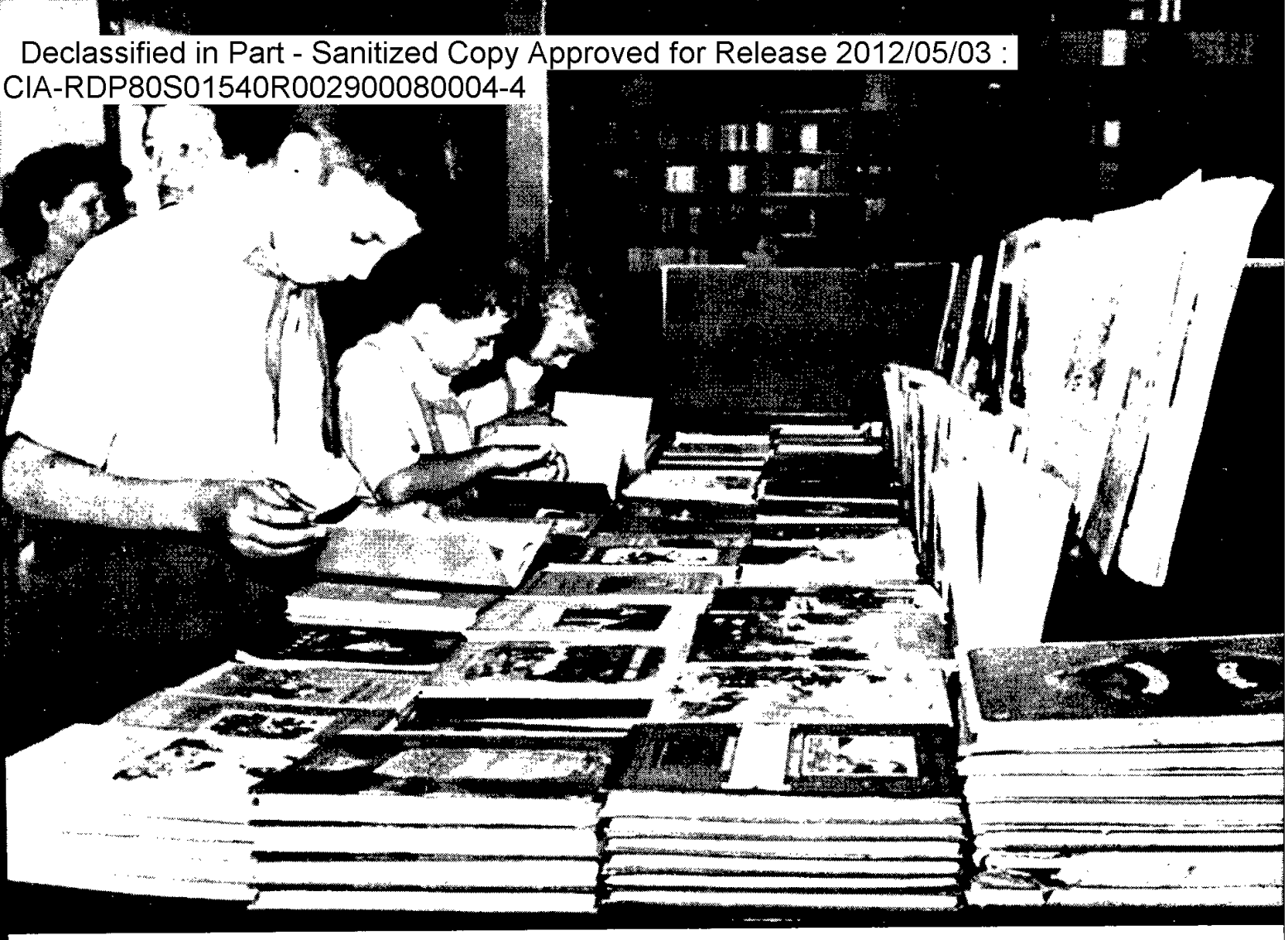

A stand with books for children and youth in a bookshop

of the best contemporary writers: Academician A. Toma (*Chickadee and His Younger Brothers*), Academician B. Lăzăreanu (*Big-hearted Dan*), Cicerone Theodorescu (*What Happened in the Garden* and *A Whole Year*), Maria Banuş, Al. C. Constantinescu, Sidonia Drăguşanu and others. All these books have been published in large editions; last year, the Youth Publishing House printed 4,200,000 copies of books. Evidence of the attention which the State bestows on literature for children is the fact that the rhymed tale *Fearless Nică* by Nina Cassian has been awarded the State Prize. Poetry for the children such as Marcel Breslaşu's, whose charming, humorous verse instils ideas

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of great educational value, enjoys wide popularity among the young. Alongside these outstanding writers, new literary forces from among the young have enriched the stands of books for children with tales and poems.

This brief review of the spheres in which the printed book is of such great importance is insufficient to give an adequate picture of the tremendous cultural upsurge in the Rumanian People's Republic.

Today books correspond to the lofty mission which the great scholars and pioneers of the past assigned to them and which they hoped they would have some day, as they worked beside their printing-presses, for « never before have the people created so many talents, never before have there been so many schoolchildren and students, never before have newspapers and books had such a wide circulation as today. » (Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej)

Constantly eager to struggle for the flourishing of the homeland, for a lofty and humane culture, the Rumanian book of today ardently calls upon the younger generation to fight for peace and friendship among the nations.

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LA JEUNESSE DU PAYS DE LA PAIX

THE YOUTH OF THE COUNTRY OF PEACE

TINERETUL ȚĂRII PĂCII

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LA JEUNESSE DU PAYS DE LA PAIX

*

THE YOUTH OF THE COUNTRY OF PEACE

*

TINERETUL ȚĂRII PĂCII

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1-533798 Athenaeum (F v Soproni Béla)

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La Hongrie est le pays de la paix — le peuple hongrois est le peuple de la paix. Ces quelques mots constituent le résumé succinct du passé, comme de l'avenir de la Hongrie libérée : ils sont à la fois l'histoire et le programme de la nation. Son histoire, car ils témoignent que, pendant les années écoulées depuis sa libération, le peuple hongrois a réformé son pays, qui n'est plus la patrie de trois millions de gueux, de la misère et de la souffrance, mais un pays heureux et pacifique d'hommes travailleurs. Son programme aussi, car ils expriment que notre peuple, de toute sa force et de toutes ses capacités, veut servir la grande cause de l'humanité : la paix.

La paix est inséparable de la vie de la Hongrie nouvelle. Dans l'oeuvre pacifique de construction, la possibilité de travailler est assurée à chaque Hongrois, et en plus du travail, les études les loisirs, le sport et le repos lui sont ouverts. La vie du citoyen de la Hongrie nouvelle est, dès sa naissance, entourée des soins vigilants de l'Etat : il veille à sa santé, et lui ouvre les portes des écoles. Les plus belles maisons de repos l'accueillent pour ses vacances et les stades de sport sont à sa disposition. Aujourd'hui, les jeunes Hongrois choisissent librement leur profession sans aucune contrainte, selon leurs goûts et leurs capacités. Les écoles et les établis, les champs de blé doré et les tables de dessin des ingénieurs attendent les jeunes Hongrois : toutes les portes leur sont ouvertes. La Hongrie nouvelle est vraiment devenue pour eux la patrie des possibilités illimitées. Ils peuvent devenir députés ou artistes, lauréats du prix Kossuth, aussi bien qu'ouvriers renommés dans tout le pays, ou membres des conseils, étudiants boursiers, tout comme conducteurs de machines agricoles combinées. Le sort de la jeunesse hongroise démontre comment se réalisent les paroles de la Constitution : « La République Populaire Hongroise attache un soin particulier au développement et à l'éducation de la jeunesse ; elle défend conséquemment les intérêts de la jeunesse ». Tout ceci n'est possible qu'en temps de paix, car la guerre tue . . . Nous voulons donc la paix et nous comprenons tous ceux qui parlent la langue de la paix, sur quelque point du globe qu'ils vivent, quels que soient leurs croyances et leurs opinions.

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Nous sommes heureux et fiers à la pensée que l'Appel du Conseil Mondial de la Paix soit parti de la capitale de notre patrie : « . . la paix est là, devant nos portes. Il dépend de nous de l'atteindre. »

Paix et amitié : ces deux mots sont nés ensemble. Paix et amitié : ces deux mots sont le gage de l'heureux avenir de l'humanité. Paix et amitié, c'est aussi le programme de la vie du peuple hongrois. Nous voulons vivre en paix et en bonne amitié avec tous les hommes honnêtes et justes.

Pour réaliser notre intention et afin de pouvoir établir des relations d'amitié vraiment sinceres, il importe de mieux nous connaître. C'est dans ce but que nous publions ce livre, qui désire presenter quelques pages de la vie de la jeunesse hongroise. Nous voudrions que ces images de notre vie puissent convaincre tout le monde, que la Hongrie nouvelle travaille vraiment à l'avenir pacifique. C'est pourquoi nous présentons les réalisations du travail créateur pacifique et la vie libre et heureuse de la jeunesse hongroise. C'est pourquoi nous disons que dans notre pays « le capital le plus précieux, c'est l'homme » et c'est pourquoi nous allons visiter la magnifique Ville des pionniers des enfants hongrois. C'est pourquoi nous avons braqué l'objectif de notre appareil photographique sur les foyers d'apprentis, les maisons de repos, les foyers culturels, les logements et les écoles.

Tout ici parle de paix : l'élan du travail, le sourire des gens, les applaudissements dont retentissent les salles de réunions, et les chansons des jeunes.

Répétons bien haut avec le poète :

La devise de notre lutte et de notre foi
Tient dans cette devise sonore : La paix vaincra !

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"Hungary is a country of peace ; the Hungarian people are a people of peace." These few words are a concise summary of Hungary's history up to now and of its future life; they are a history and at the same time a programme. Why history ? Because they tell us that the Hungarian people have re-shaped their country during the years of freedom : it is no longer a country of three million beggars, that of poverty and suffering, but the happy and peaceful home of industrious people. Why programme ? Because they tell us that our people wish to serve mankind's great cause, peace, with all their strength and knowledge.

The cause of peace is inseparable from the life of new Hungary. While engaged in the work of peaceful construction, everybody in Hungary can be sure of finding opportunities for work, and of finding, outside of his work, study, scope for amusements, sports and rest. Right from the moment of his birth, the citizen of new Hungary is followed by the loving care of the State : it guards his health and opens the doors of the schools to him ; the most beautiful health resorts and the newly built sports grounds await him. The young people of Hungary are no longer under any compulsion in choosing their profession : they can do so according to their desire and talents. Hungarian young people know that schools and work-benches, golden cornfields and the drawing-boards of engineers are awaiting them ; they know that every gate is open to them. Hungary has really become the land of unlimited possibilities for young people ! They may become members of the National Assembly, artists decorated with the Kossuth Prize, workmen of national repute, or chairmen of local Councils, decorated students or drivers of harvester combines. The position of Hungary's youth is a striking illustration of the manner in which the words of our Constitution have been realized : "The Hungarian People's Republic pays special attention to the development and education of youth ; it consistently protects the interests of youth." All this can be done in peace only, as life is killed off by war . . . Therefore, we want peace, and we understand everyone who speaks the language of peace, in whatever corner of the globe he may live,

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whatever religion, creed or opinion he may profess. We are happy and proud to remember that the appeal of the World Peace Council was launched in the capital of our country: "... peace is before our gates. It is up to us to obtain it." Peace and friendship: these two words were born together. Peace and friendship: these two words form the pledge of mankind's happy future. Peace and friendship: these two words also form the programme of Hungary's people. We want to live in peace and friendship with all honest and true people.

We cannot realize our desire, we cannot create an atmosphere of peace and friendship, if we do not get better acquainted with one another... This is the purpose of this book: it wants to present a few aspects of the life of Hungary's youth. We should like to convince everybody, by means of the pictures representing our life, of the fact that our new Hungary really serves the cause of a peaceful future. This is our reason for showing the results of our peaceful creative work, representing in our pictures the bright and free life of Hungarian youth. This is the justification for our claim that "man is the greatest value" in our country, this is why we pay a visit to the splendid "Pioneers' Town" of the Hungarian children. This is why we focus the lens of our camera on the apprentices' homes, why we peep through the windows of recreation halls, cultural centres, private flats and public schools.

Everything speaks here of peace: the tempo of work, the people's smiles, the tumultuous applause of mass rallies, the song of the youth.

Let us repeat in a resounding voice the poet's words: "The tenet of our fight and our creed is the sonorous slogan: Peace will triumph!"

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Republica Populară Ungară e țara păcii — poporul ungar e poporul păcii. In aceste câteva cuvinte se cuprinde atât istoria de până acum a Ungariei eliberate și noui, cât și viața ei viitoare: ele sunt și istorie, și program. Istorie, fiindcă mărturiesc că poporul ungar în anii libertății și-a reorganizat țara: acum nu mai este țara celor trei millioane de cerșetori, a mizeriei și a suferinței, ci țara fericită, țara pașnică a oamenilor muncii. Dar e și program, fiindcă ne spun, că poporul nostru cu toată puterea și știința lui vrea să servească pacea, cauza cea mare a oamenirii.

Pacea este inseparabilă de viața Ungariei noui. In timpul muncii creatoare pașnice, pentru, fiecare maghiar este asigurată posibilitatea de muncă și pe lângă muncă, invățatul, distracția, sportul, odihna. Cetățeanul Ungariei noui, din prima clipă a vieții sale, este înconjurat de dragostea și grija statului, care îi apără sănătatea, îi deschide porțile școlilor; e așteptat de cele mai frumoase locuri de recreație și de nouile terenuri sportive. Astăzi tinerii maghiari își aleg profesiunea nu prin constrângere ci după dorința și capacitățile lor. Școli, ateliere, ogoare semănate cu grâu auriu, mese de desenuri de ingineri le așteaptă pe tinerii maghiari: toate porțile le stau deschise. Ungaria nouă a devenit pentru ei într'adevăr țara posibilităților nemărginite. Ei vor putea fi: delegați, artiști laureați ai premiului Kossuth, muncitori bine conoscuți în toată țara, președinți ai Sfaturilor Populare, studenți evidențiați și conducători de combaine. Soarta ai tineretului ungar ne arată cum se traduc în viață cuvintele Constituției: „Republica Populară Ungară acordă o deosebită atenție desvoltării și educării tineretului, ocrotind în mod consecvent, interesele tineretului". Toate acestea sunt posibile numai în pace, fiindcă războiul stinge viața . . . Deci noi vrem pace, și înțelegem pe toți acei, care vorbesc limba păcii, fie din orice parte a lumii, fie de orice credință sau convingere.

Suntem fericiți și mândri, când ne gândim la aceea că Apelul Consiliului Mondial al Păcii a fost lansat din Capitala partriei noastre: „. . . pacea e aci în fața porților noastre. Depinde de noi să o avem". Pace și prietenie: aceste două cuvinte s'au născut împreună. Pace și prietenie: aceste două cuvinte sunt chezășia viitorului fericit al omenirii. Pace și prietenie — aceasta este și

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programul de viaţă al poporului ungar. Vrem să trăim în pace şi prietenie cu toţi oamenii cinstiţi şi drepţi. Pentruca intenţia noastră să se poată realiza, ca să putem crea raporturi prieteneşti într'adevăr sincere, trebue să ne cunoaştem mai bine . . . Acesta este scopul pe care vrem să-l urmărim prin această carte, care va prezenta câteva pagini din viaţa tineretului ungar. Dorinţa noastră este ca fotografiile, care vorbesc despre viaţa noastră, să convingă pe toţi despre aceea că Ungaria nouă e într'adevăr în serviciul viitorului paşnic. Pentru aceasta vă înfăţişăm rezultatele muncii noastre creatoare, paşnice, viaţa fericită şi liberă a tineretului ungar. Pentru aceasta spunem că în ţara noastră „capitalul cel mai de preţ este omul", pentru aceasta vom face o vizită în minunatul Oraş al Pionerilor, orasul copiilor maghiari. Pentru aceasta se îndreaptă lentila aparatului de fotografiat spre căminul ucenicilor, spre locurile de odihnă, cămine culturale, locuinţe, şcoli.

Aci totul vorbeşte despre pace: avântul muncii, zâmbetul oamenilor, aplauzele furtunoase în sălile de şedinţe şi cântecul tineretului.

Strigăm împreună cu poetul, ca să se audă cât mai departe:

„Lupta şi credinţa noastră are o lozincă răsunătoare: Pacea va învinge!"

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Il nous faut la paix ! Car l'arbre de la vie ne peut vraiment fleurir que dans la paix — c'est ce dont parlent tous les jours, à toutes les heures de la vie des jeunes Hongrois

We want Peace ! The tree of life can really flower only in peace — this is what every day, every hour of the life of Hungarian youth proclaims

Noi vrem pace ! Pentrucă pomul vieţii numai în pace poate înflori într'adevăr — despre aceasta vorbeşte în fiecare zi, în fiecare oră, viaţa tineretului ungar

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C'est de la vie changée de cette jeunesse éprise de paix qu'Anna Berta, technicienne, une des déléguées de la jeunesse hongroise parlera au Festival

The changed life of this peace-inspired youth is the subject on which Anna Berta, electro-technician, a delegate of Hungarian youth, will speak a few words at the Festival

Despre viaţa schimbată a acestui tineret iubitor de pace va vorbi şi Berta Anna electriciană, una dintre delegatele tineretului ungar la Festival

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La jeune génération n'a plus rien à craindre de l'avenir. Le chômage, la disette, tout cela est inconnu aujourd'hui

The young generation need no longer fear the future. Unemployment, privation — are things of the past

Generația cea tânără nu mai trebue să fie îngrijorată, gândindu-se la viitor. Şomaj, mizerie — astăzi sunt necunoscute

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Quatre parmi les sept cent mille . . . Le plan quinquennal donne du travail à sept cent mille ouvriers dans le bâtiment et dans l'industrie de construction mécanique

Four out of the 700,000 . . . the Five-Year Plan is offering 700,000 new workers opportunities to work in the manufacturing and building industries

Patru din cei 700.000 . . . Planul cincinal, în sectorul industriei şi construcţii dă prilej de muncă pentru 700.000 muncitori noui

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Toutes les portes sont ouvertes aux jeunes filles et aux jeunes femmes aussi. Elles tiennent bon aussi bien devant le métier à tisser que sur le siège du tracteur

The gates have been thrown open to young girls and married women as well; they firmly stand their ground, whether at the power-loom or at the controls of a tractor

Toate porţile s'au deschis în faţa fetelor şi femeilor tinere şi ele muncesc la fel, atât lângă maşini de ţeşut cât şi pe tractoare

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En quelques brèves années, les hommes qui tracent l'avenir construisent une ville nouvelle dans la plaine aride, là où autrefois même le voyageur exténué ne songeait pas à s'arrêter pour se reposer

Sztálinváros : réalisation qui fait l'orgueil du socialisme en construction

A new city has grown out of nowhere on the barren wastes of old, where, in the past, not even the tired wanderer would stop to rest : a creation of the men who are planning our future

Sztálinváros ("Stalin City"), the proud creation of Socialism under construction

Oamenii, făuritorii viitorului, numai în câţiva ani ridică un nou oraş într'un loc pustiu, acolo unde odinioară nici călătorul obosit nu s'a oprit să se odihnească

Sztálinváros, creaţia mândră a socialismului în construcţie

La ville grandit, et ses constructeurs grandissent avec elle. La petite campagnarde d'hier est devenue une excellente bétonneuse spécialisée

The city is growing, and so are those who are building it. The young peasant girl of yesterday is a skilled worker and the operator of the concrete mixer of today

Creşte oraşul şi cu el creşc şi acei, care l'au construit. Săteanca de eri, azi e o eminentă muncitoară calificată, mânuind betonierul

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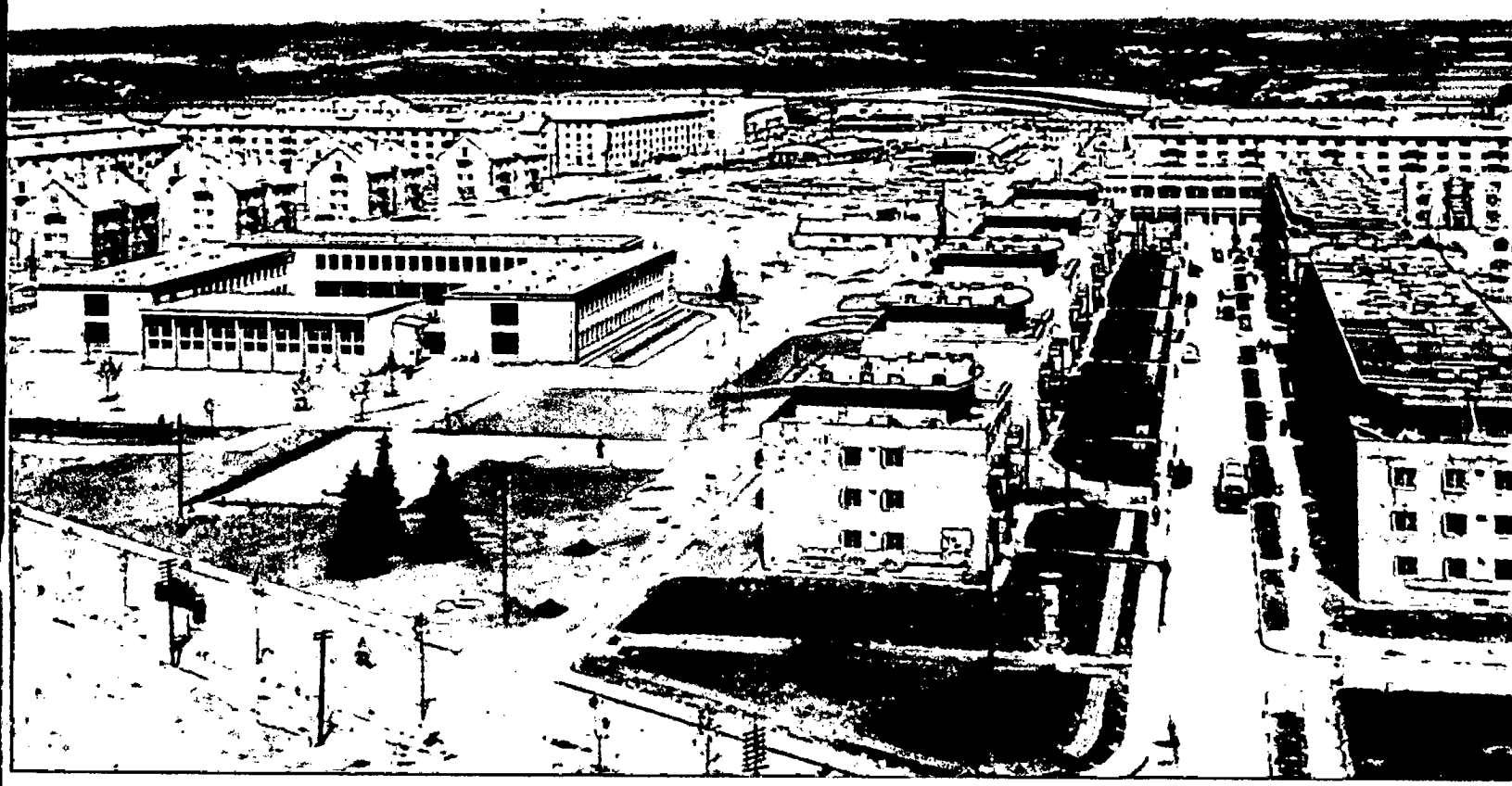

A bref délai, 40,000 travailleurs trouveront à se loger dans la nouvelle ville

In a short time 40,000 working people will have established their homes in the new city

Orașul cel nou va adăposti în curând 40.000 muncitori

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Jeunes constructeurs de la jeune ville. Le travail de plus de deux cents brigades de la jeunesse accélère la construction de la ville et de l'Usine sidérurgique Staline

The young builders of a young city. More than two hundred youth brigades are helping to speed up the completion of the city and the Stalin Iron Works

Tinerii constructori ai tânărului oraş. Mai bine de douăsute de brigăzi ai tineretului grăbesc prin munca lor construirea oraşului şi a Combinatului Metalurgic Stalin

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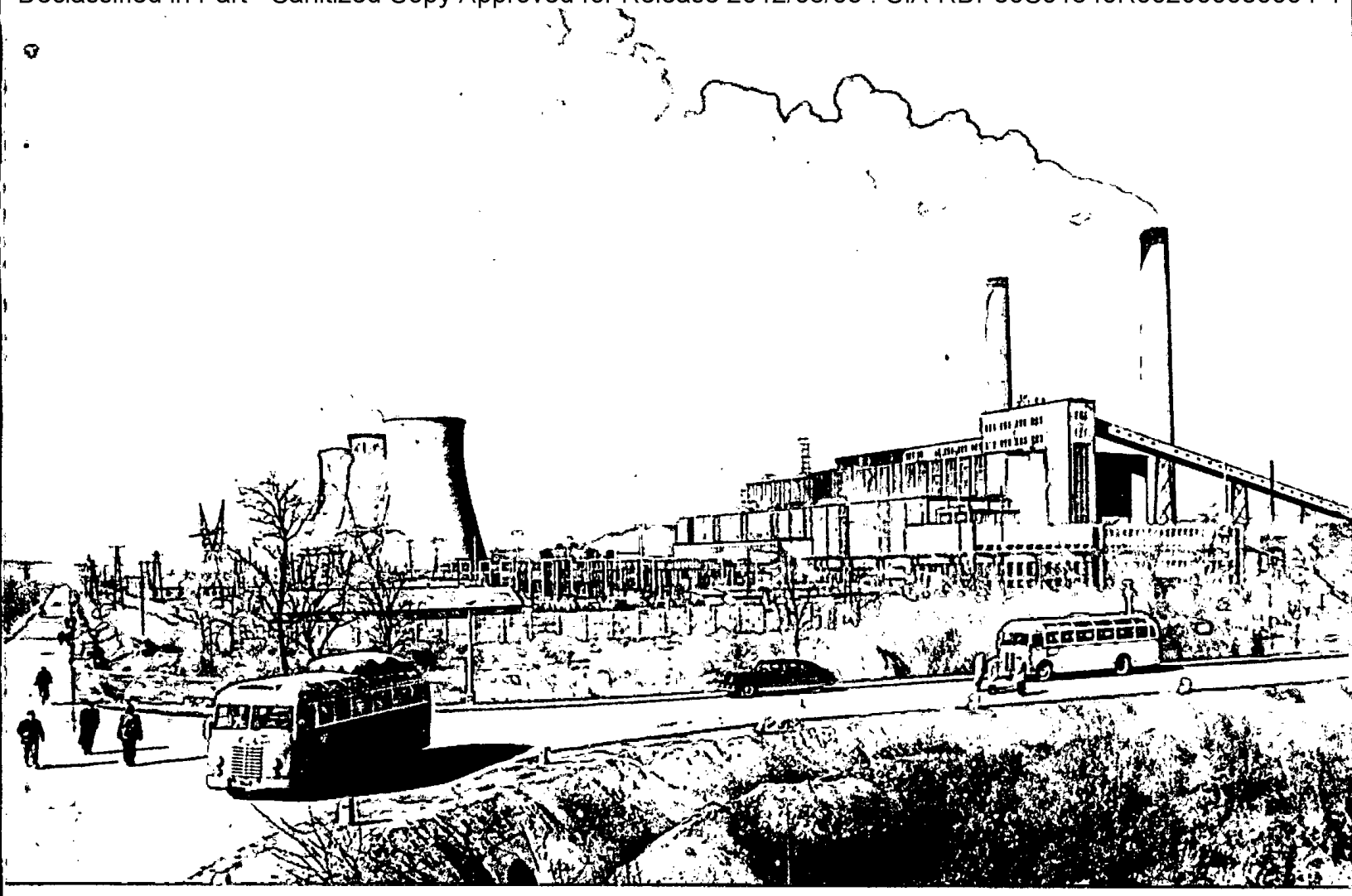

C'est d'ici que les lumières de la vie nouvelle partiront pour leur route glorieuse : Centrale « 7 Novembre », Inota. Les efforts conjugués des ouvriers tchèques et hongrois ont créé en 3 ans à peine cette magnifique oeuvre de paix

It is from here that the lights of the new life start on their triumphal march : the Inota, "November 7" Power Plant. This magnificent project of peace was created in less than three years by the joint efforts of Hungarian and Czechoslovak workers

Luminile vieţii noui iau de aici drumul lor glorios : Inota, Uzinele „7. Noembrie". Muncitori maghiari şi cehi, umăr la umăr, prin munca lor încordată, aproape în 3 ani au creat aceasta minunată operă a păcii

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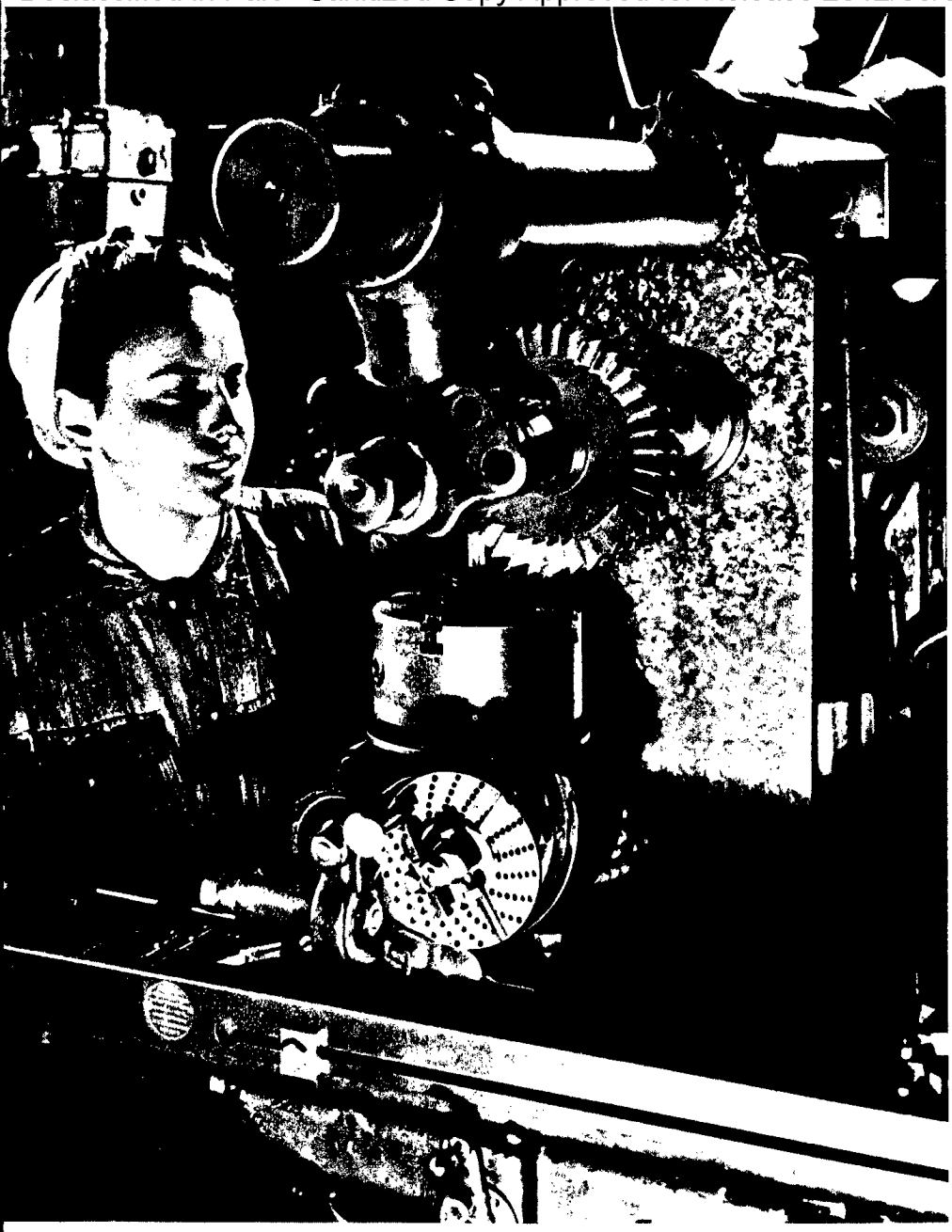

Notre plan quinquennal est un plan de paix. Tous ceux qui travaillent pour la réalisation de cette devise luttent pour la paix

Our Five-Year Plan is a peace plan. He who works to realize it fights for peace

Planul nostru cincinal e planul păcii. Cine muncește pentru realizarea acestui plan : luptă pentru pace

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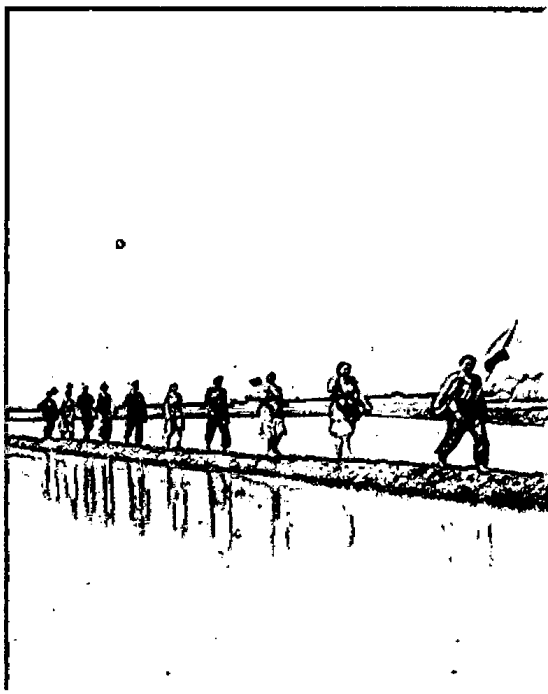
La Centrale hydraulique de Tiszalök, créée au cours du Plan quinquennal, supplée à dix mille wagons de charbon. Elle fournira 55 millions de Kwh d'énergie électrique aux usines, aux villes et aux villages ; ses écluses et ses barrages alimenteront un fleuve artificiel de 40 m de large, qui, traversant la plaine de Hortobágy, portera des bateaux et fournira de l'eau aux canaux d'irrigation

The hydroelectric project of Tiszalök, a result of the Five-Year Plan, will replace the power of ten thousand waggon-loads of coal. It will supply the factories, towns and villages with 55 million kwh of power per year ; its dam will supply with water an artificial river 40 metres in width which will traverse the "Hortobágy" (part of the Great Hungarian Plains), will bear cargo and passenger vessels and feed numerous irrigation canals

Creaţia planului cincinal, hidrocentrala dela Tiszalök, înlocuieşte energia a 10.000 vagoane de cărbuni. Va da fabricilor, oraşelor şi satelor anual 55 milioane kw/o energie electrică, iar stăvilarele şi barajele centralei vor alimenta un râu artificial de 40 metri lăţime, care va trece peste şesul „Hortobágy", purtând vapoare şi alimentând canaluri de irigaţie



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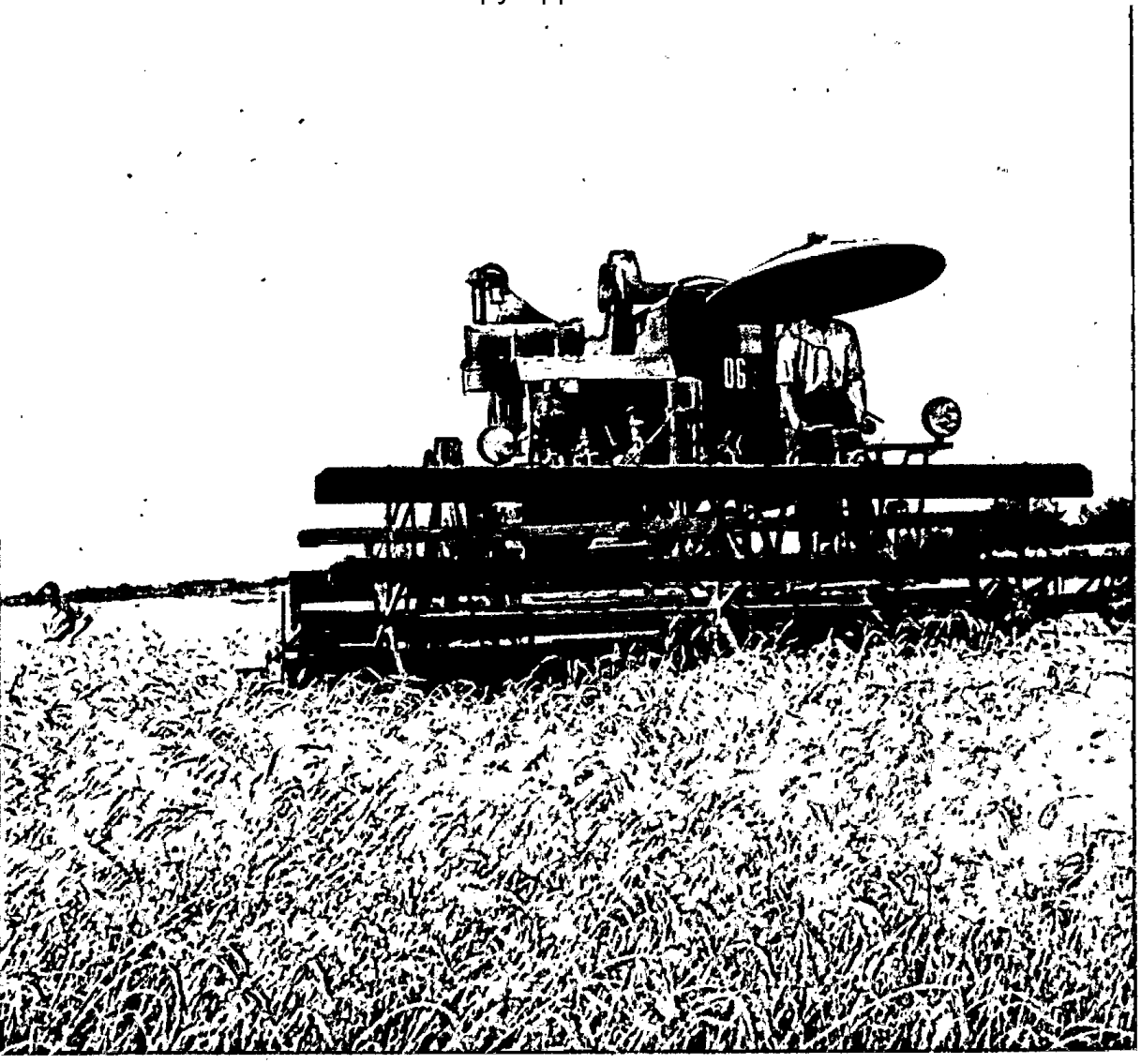

Le village hongrois se régénère. Des machines nouvelles allègent le travail de l'homme

The Hungarian village is re-born. Human labour is aided and made lighter with machinery

Se renaşte satul ungar. Maşini noui vor uşura, vor ajuta munca omului

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L'ingénieur, par son travail et sa précision, l'ouvrier par son zèle et sa persévérance et le cultivateur avec son amour de la terre luttent toute l'année pour les riches épis, la récolte abondante . . .

De jeunes agronomes travaillent à améliorer nos cultures

With the engineer's brains and precision, the worker's zeal and the peasant's love of the soil, the people of the village are fighting for the lush ears of corn, for an abundant harvest . . .

Plant improvement is done by young agronomists

Cu mintea și preciziunea inginerului, cu hărnicia și stăruința muncitorului, cu dragostea de pământ a săteanului luptă în tot timpul anului pentru spicul bogat, pentru recolta îmbelșugată

Agronomi tineri lucrează la selecționarea plantelor

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« Élevage de veaux par abreuvage ». Par l'introduction de nouvelles méthodes, nous améliorons le rendement de l'élevage, ce qui fournit plus de viande, de graisse et de lait pour le ravitaillement meilleur et plus abondant de la population

The raising of calves by the "early weaning" method

Animal husbandry yields better results since new methods have been introduced. This means more meat, fats and milk, i. e., better and richer provisions for the population

„Creşterea viţeilor prin adăpare." Prin întroducerea noilor metode vom spori rezultatele în creşterea animalelor. Vom avea mai multă carne, untură, lapte pentru aprovizionarea mai bună şi mai îmbelşugată a populaţiei

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Une nouvelle vie riche et belle nous sourit — c'est le résultat du bon travail

A beautiful, rich and new life is smiling upon us — the result of good work

In fața noastră se deschide o viață nouă, frumoasă și bogată, — rezultatul muncii bune

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Le peuple confie le sort du pays aux meilleurs combattants de cette vie nouvelle. C'est pourquoi Béla Bozsó jeune ingénieur de la fabrique Láng, vient d'être élu député

The country entrusts the management of its affairs to the most prominent fighters for this new life ; this is the reason why Béla Bazsó, the young engineer of the Láng Factory, has been nominated candidate to the National Assembly

Iar poporul încredinţează treburile ţării luptătorilor celor mai buni ai acestei vieţi noui. Pentru acest fapt a fost candidat ca deputat în Adunarea Naţională Béla Bozsó, tânărul inginer al fabricii „Láng"

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Les élections législatives sont une fête populaire, une fête de la jeunesse

La nouvelle loi électorale a donné à plusieurs centaines de milliers de jeunes Hongrois le droit d'intervenir dans les affaires de l'Etat. Tout jeune homme ou toute jeune fille ayant 18 ans révolus est électeur et éligible

The people's festival, the youth's festival: the elections for the National Assembly

A new generation of several hundred thousand young people has been enabled by the new electoral law to participate in the management of the country's affairs. Every young man and girl, after completing his or her 18th year, is entitled to vote and to be elected

Sărbătoarea poporului, sărbătoarea tineretului: alegerile pentru Adunarea Națională

Noua lege electorală a împuternicit din nou mai multe sute de mii de tineri maghiari cu dreptul de și spune cuvântul în treburile țării. Toți tineri, care au împlinit 18 ani, au drept de vot și pot fi aleși

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Jeunes députés. Des jeunes gens participent aux travaux de la nouvelle Assemblée Nationale

Young members of the National Assembly . . . Young people take part in the work of the new National Assembly

Tinerii deputaţi ai Adunării Naţionale. In noua Adunare Naţională iau parte mulţi tineri

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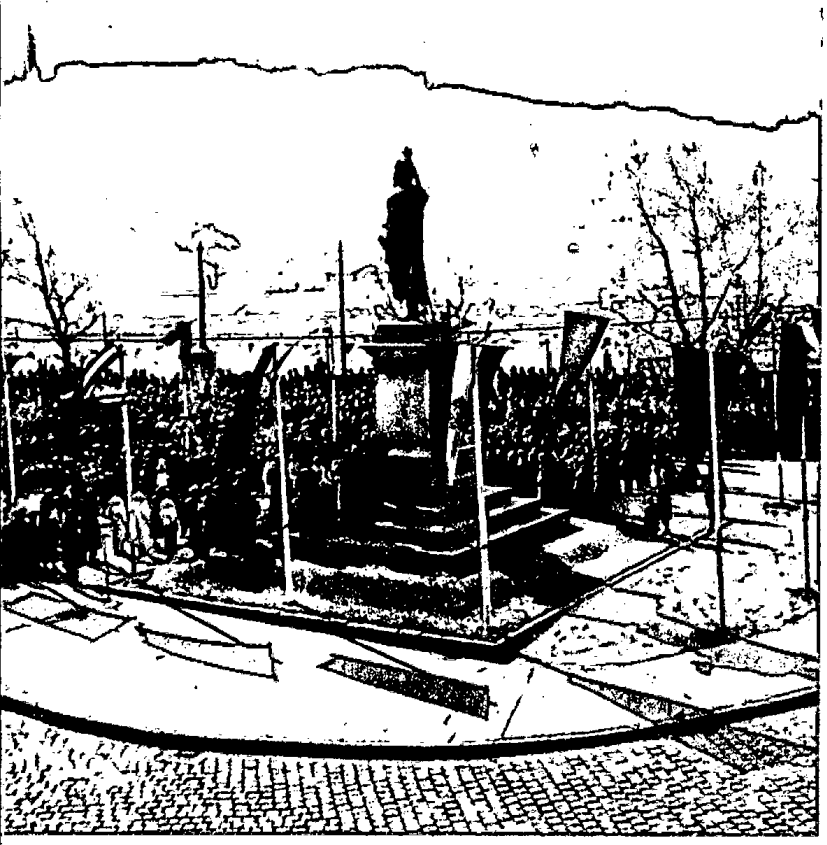

Nous avons atteint le but pour lequel il a lutté . . . A sa grande réunion du 15 mars, la jeunesse hongroise célèbre la mémoire du génial poète de la liberté, héros de la guerre d'indépendance de 1848, Sándor Petőfi

We have obtained what he fought for . . . The youth of Hungary, at a meeting on March 15, celebrate the glorious memory of Sándor Petőfi, the brilliant poet of liberty, the hero of the War of Independence of 1848

Iată, că noi am obținut aceea, pentru ce a luptat El . . .

Tineretul ungar la adunarea din 15. Martie își aduce aminte de Sándor Petőfi, poetul înflăcărat al libertății, eroul luptelor pentru libertate din 1848

La liberté de réunion. Il a aussi lutté pour la conquérir. La Hongrie nouvelle réalise les idées de Petőfi les unes après les autres

Right of assembly — He fought for it, too, and his ideas are being realized one by one in the new Hungary

Libertatea intrunirilor. El a luptat și pentru aceasta, iar Ungaria nouă rând pe rând realizază ideile lui

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Dans la République Populaire Hongroise, le peuple est maître de son sort. C'est pourquoi on y construit de belles maisons salubres, ensoleillées et accueillantes

En Hongrie, on construit en moyenne 200 nouveaux logements par jour

The people of the Hungarian People's Republic have taken the management of their affairs in their own hands; this is why they are erecting so many sunny, healthful and friendly dwelling houses such as these
On the average, 200 new dwelling houses are completed in Hungary every day

In Republica Populară Ungară poporul el îşi conduce soarta, iar din aceasta cauză se construesc locuinţe atât de luminoase, sănătoase şi prielnice. In RPU se construesc zilnic în medie 200 de locuinţe noui

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Les jeunes dans les travaux d'administration de l'Etat. Le nombre des membres des conseils locaux, âgés de moins de 25 ans s'élève à plus de 50,000
Au conseil municipal de Mezőkövesd

Young people in the management of the country's affairs. The number of the members of local Councils, who have not yet reached their 25th birthday, is over 50,000
In the Council of Mezőkövesd

Tineri în conducerea treburilor ţării. Mai bine de 50.000 tineri sub 25 ani, sunt deputaţi ai Sfaturilor Populare
La Sfatul Popular din Mezőkövesd

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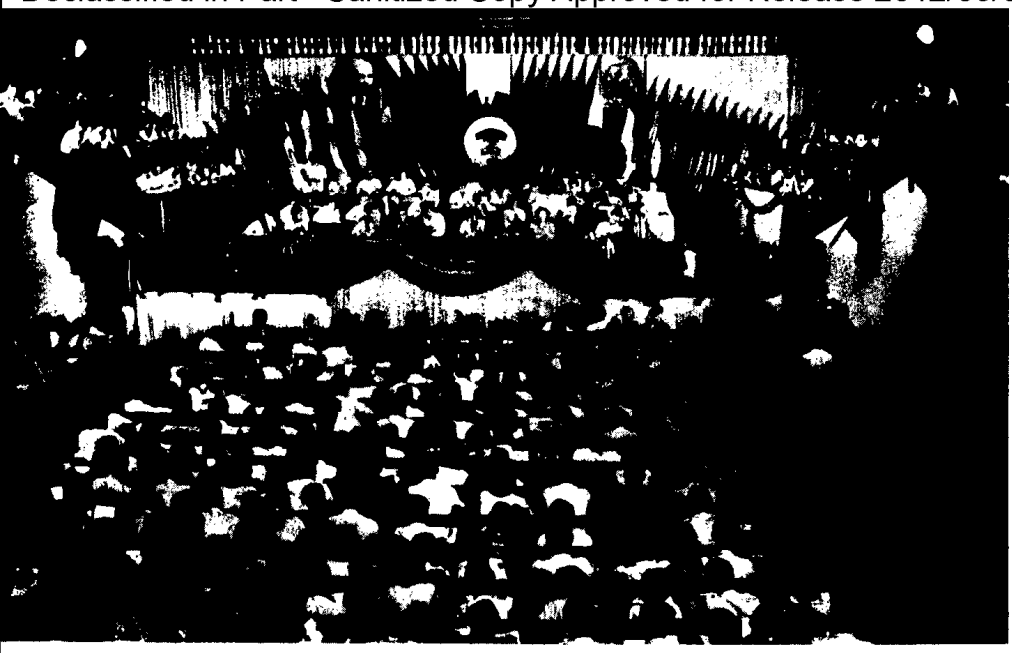

Les jeunes Hongrois possèdent une organisation forte, l'Union de la Jeunesse Travailleuse (DISZ) dans les rangs de laquelle 1.600.000 jeunes luttent pour l'avenir et pour la paix

Hungarian youth have a strong organization: this is the Hungarian Union of Working Youth; 1,600,000 young people are fighting in this organization for the future, for Peace

Tineretul ungar are o organizaţie puternică: DISZ în rândurile căruia azi 1.600.000 tineri luptă pentru viitor, pentru pace

Le premier Congrès de la DISZ

First Congress of the DISZ

I. Congres al DISZ -ului

Les invités étrangers du Congrès

Foreign guests at the Congress

Oaspeţi din străinătate la Congres

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A la place de leurs taudis, les villageois aussi trouvent un vrai foyer dans de beaux logements propres et clairs

In the place of hovels, clean, bright flats offer real homes to the inhabitants of villages

In locul cocioabelor, şi sătenii îşi găsesc un cămin adevărat în locuinţele lor curate şi luminoase

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Nouveaux meubles pour le nouvel appartement. Jeune ménage au Magasin des meubles

New furniture for the new flat. A young couple at a Furniture Department Store

Mobile noui pentru locuinţe noui. Tineri căsătoriţi într'un magazin de mobile

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Chez nous tout se fait pour l'homme pour une meilleure vie de l'homme . . .

Man, a better life for man, is at the root of everything that goes on in this country . . .

La noi toate se petrec pentru interesul oamenilor, pentru viața lor mai fericită . . .

Joyeuse matinée de dimanche à l'Ile Marguerite

A happy Sunday morning on Margaret Island

O duminecă veselă pe insula „Margareta" la Budapesta

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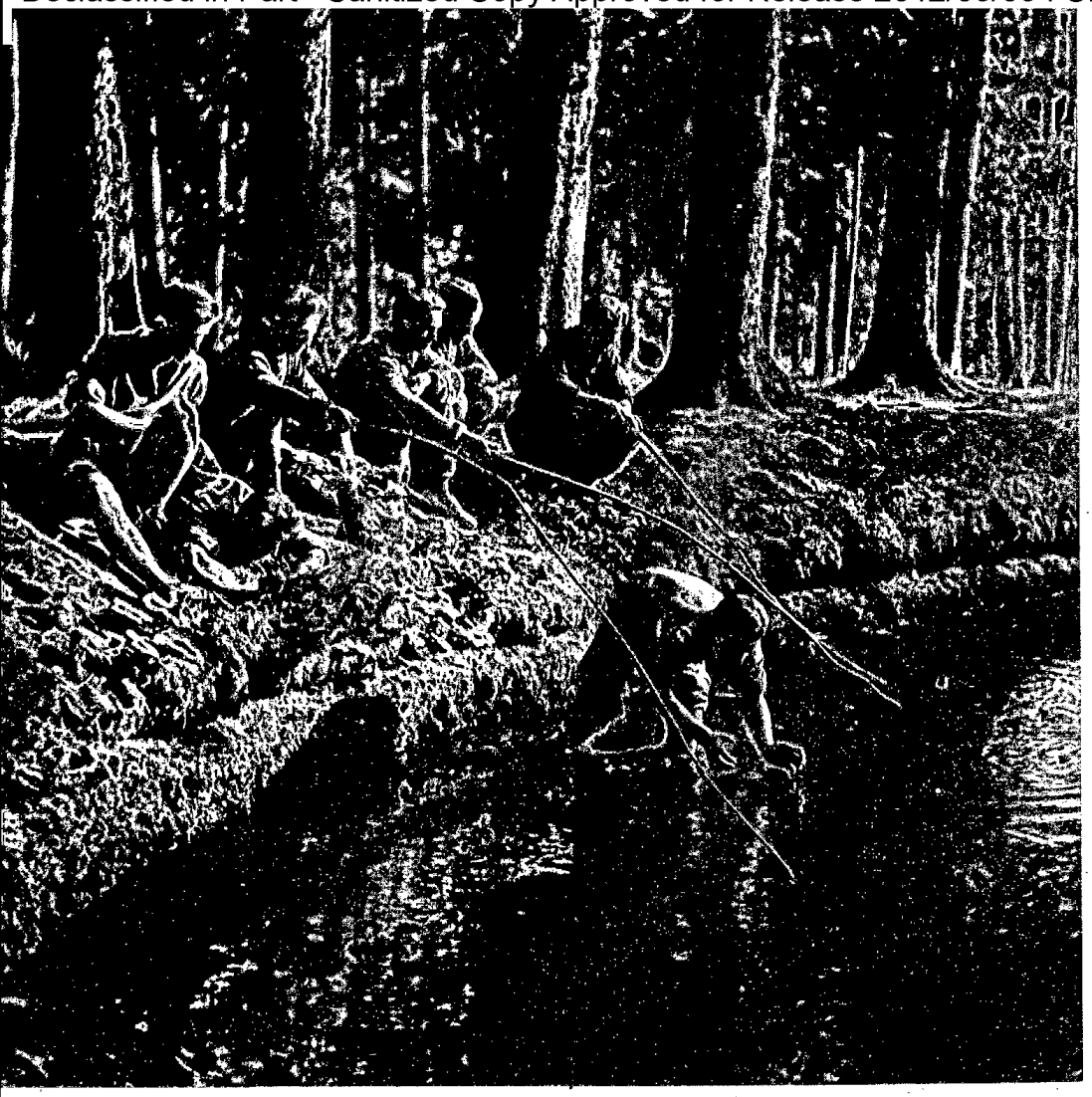

La jeunesse hongroise passe la fin de la semaine dans les plus beaux lieux de villégiature du pays, au bord du lac Balaton, dans de beaux sites boisés, dans les montagnes verdoyantes, au bord des fleuves paisibles, pour y prendre le repos bien mérité par un travail assidu

After a good week's work, Hungarian young people may spend

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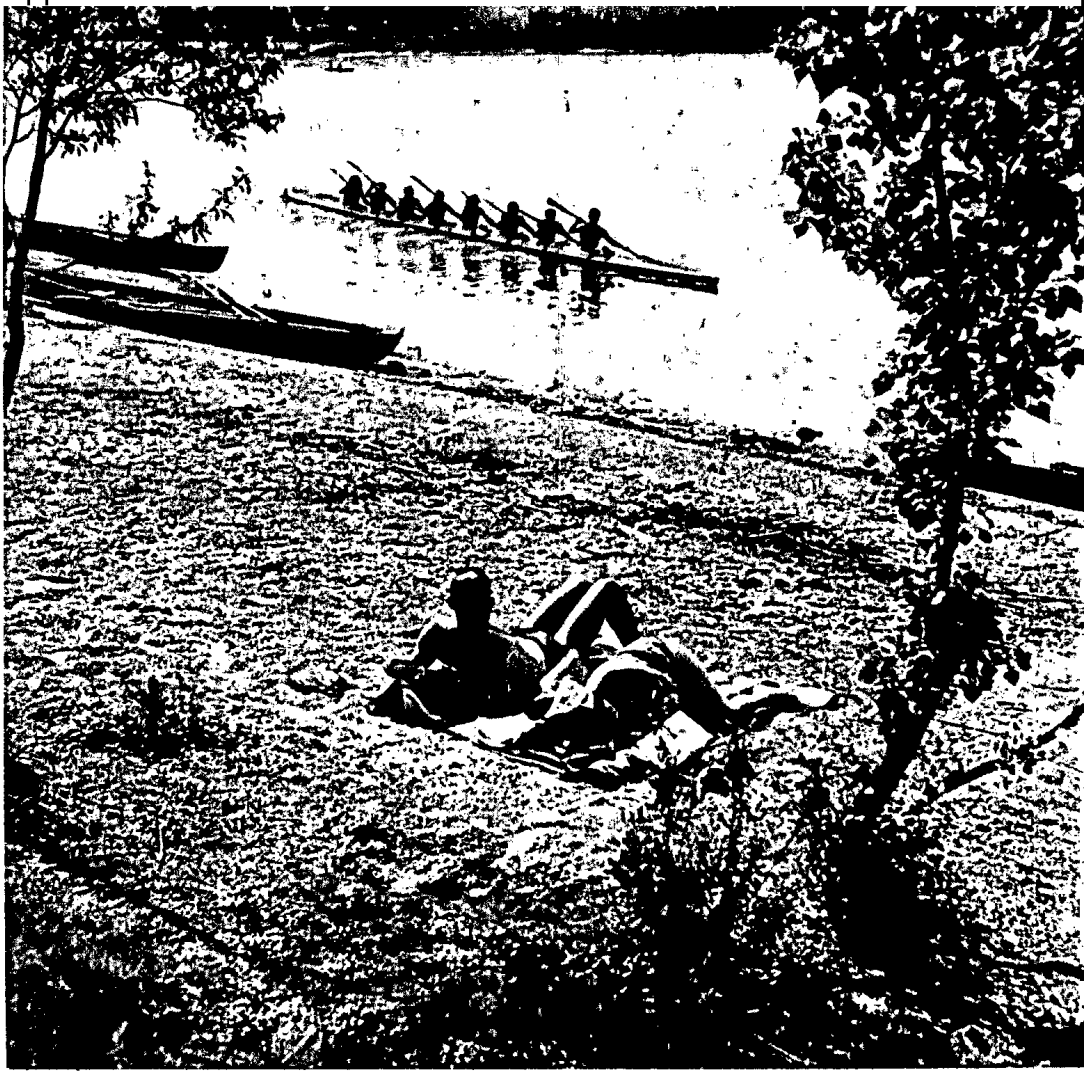
their week-ends by quiet riversides, in beautiful mountain forests, or on the shores of Lake Balaton

Pe malurile râurilor domoale, între dealuri minunate, între locuri înconjurate de păduri frumoase, lângă lacul Balaton — în stațiunile de odihnă cele mai frumoase își petrece tineretul ungar timpul de odihnă de la sfârșitul săptămânii, meritat prin munca sa susținută



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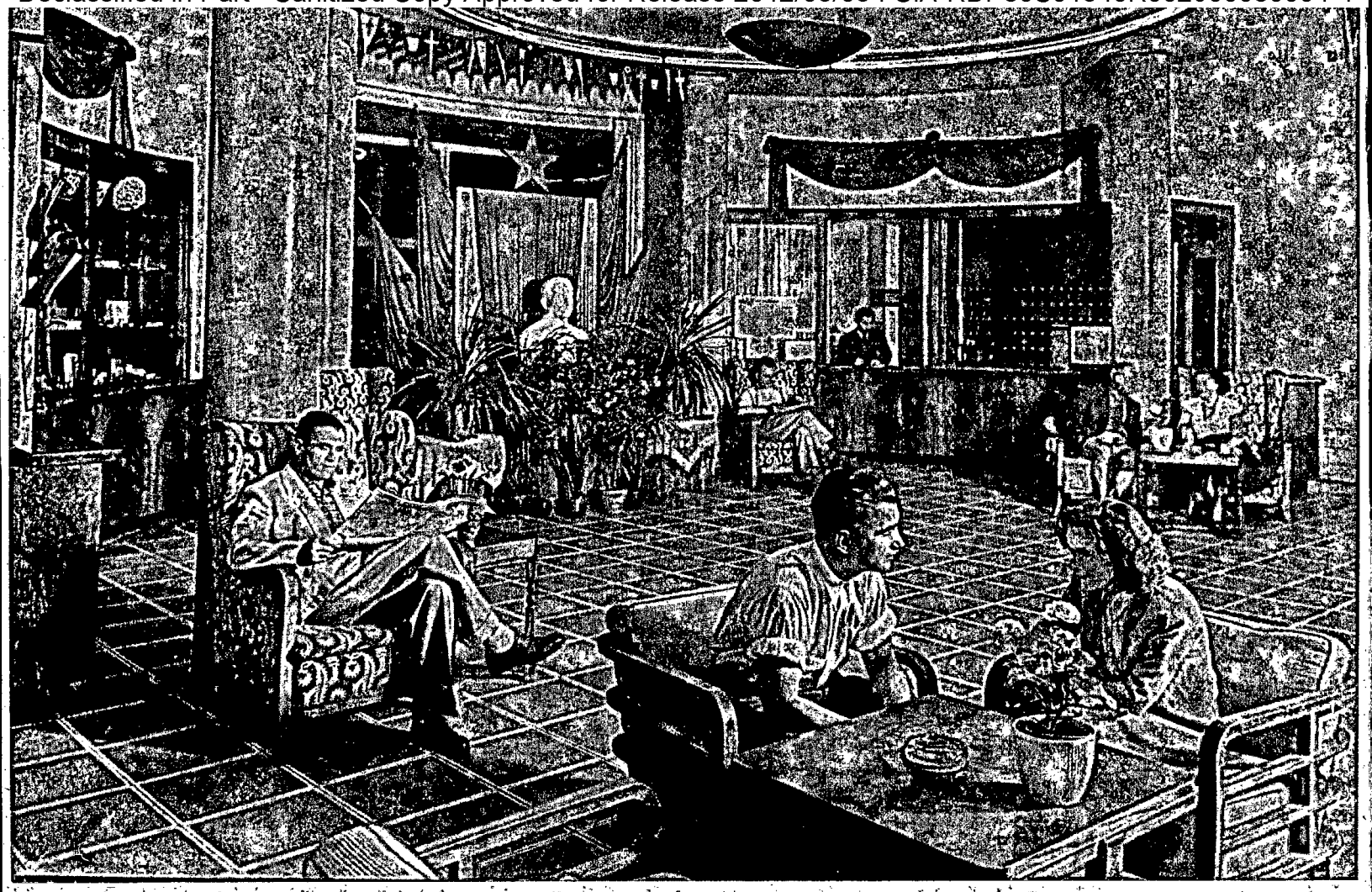

Voici Galyatető où se reposent les ouvriers, héros de tous les jours

Galyatető, where the everyday heroes of Labour are sent for their holidays

Galyatető, unde se odihnesc eroii zilelor de muncă

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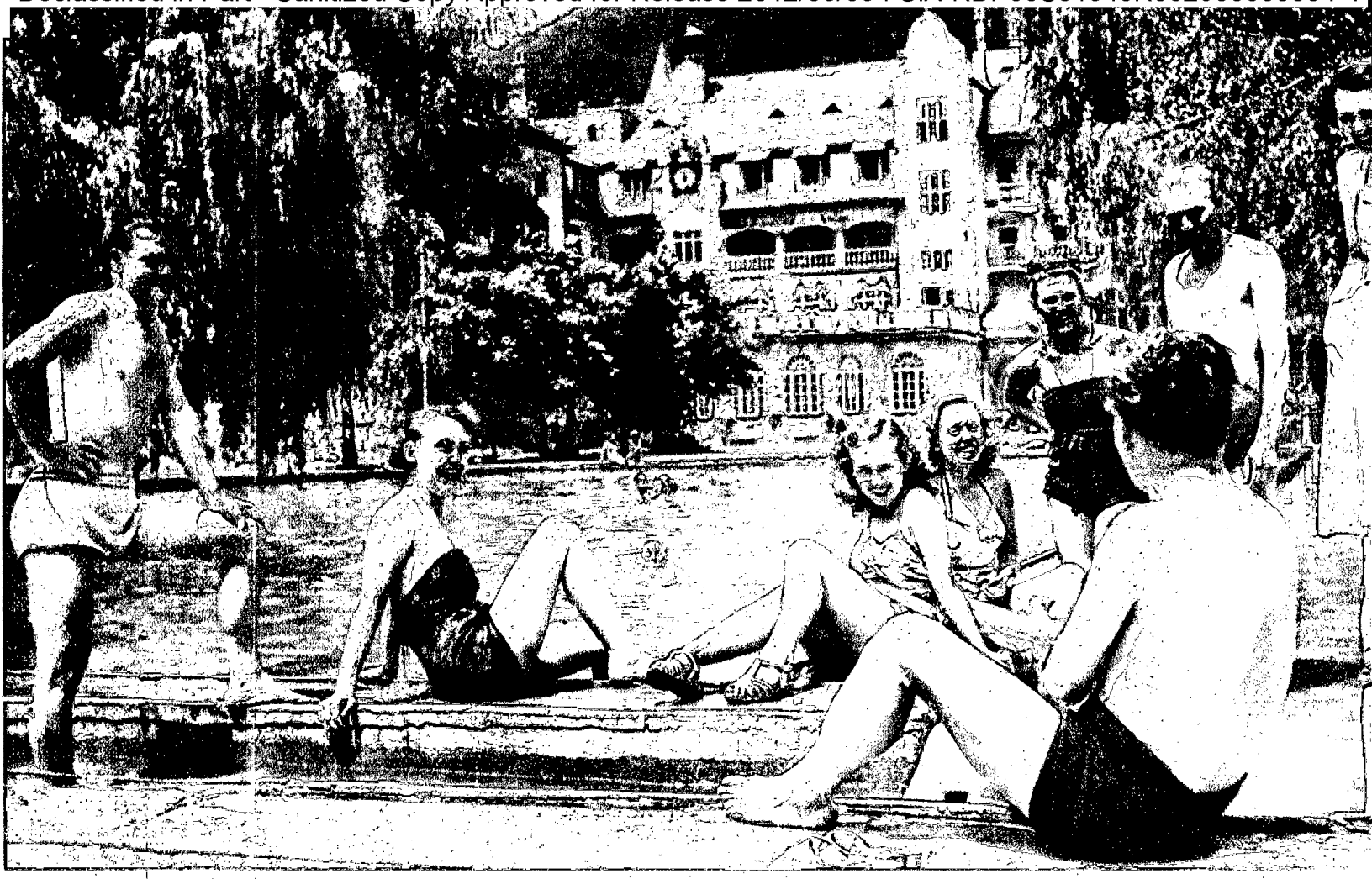

Lillafüred. L'Etat y fait passer des vacances à plus de 200,000 travailleurs par an

Lillafüred. More than 200,000 working people receive paid holidays at resorts every year

Lillafüred. Anual peste 200.000 oameni ai muncii sunt trimiși aci de către Stat, pentru recreație

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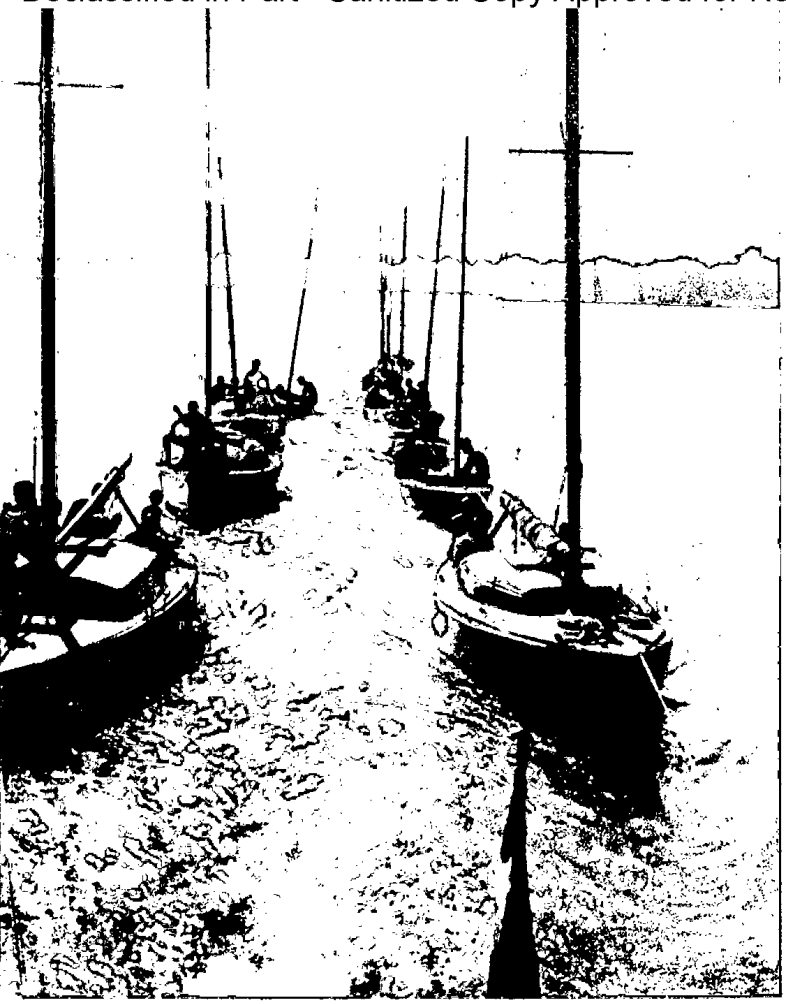

Heureux été
Des jeunes sur la « mer hongroise » : le lac Balaton

Happy summer
Young people at Lake Balaton, the "Hungarian Sea"

Vară fericită
Tineri la Balaton, la „marea ungară"

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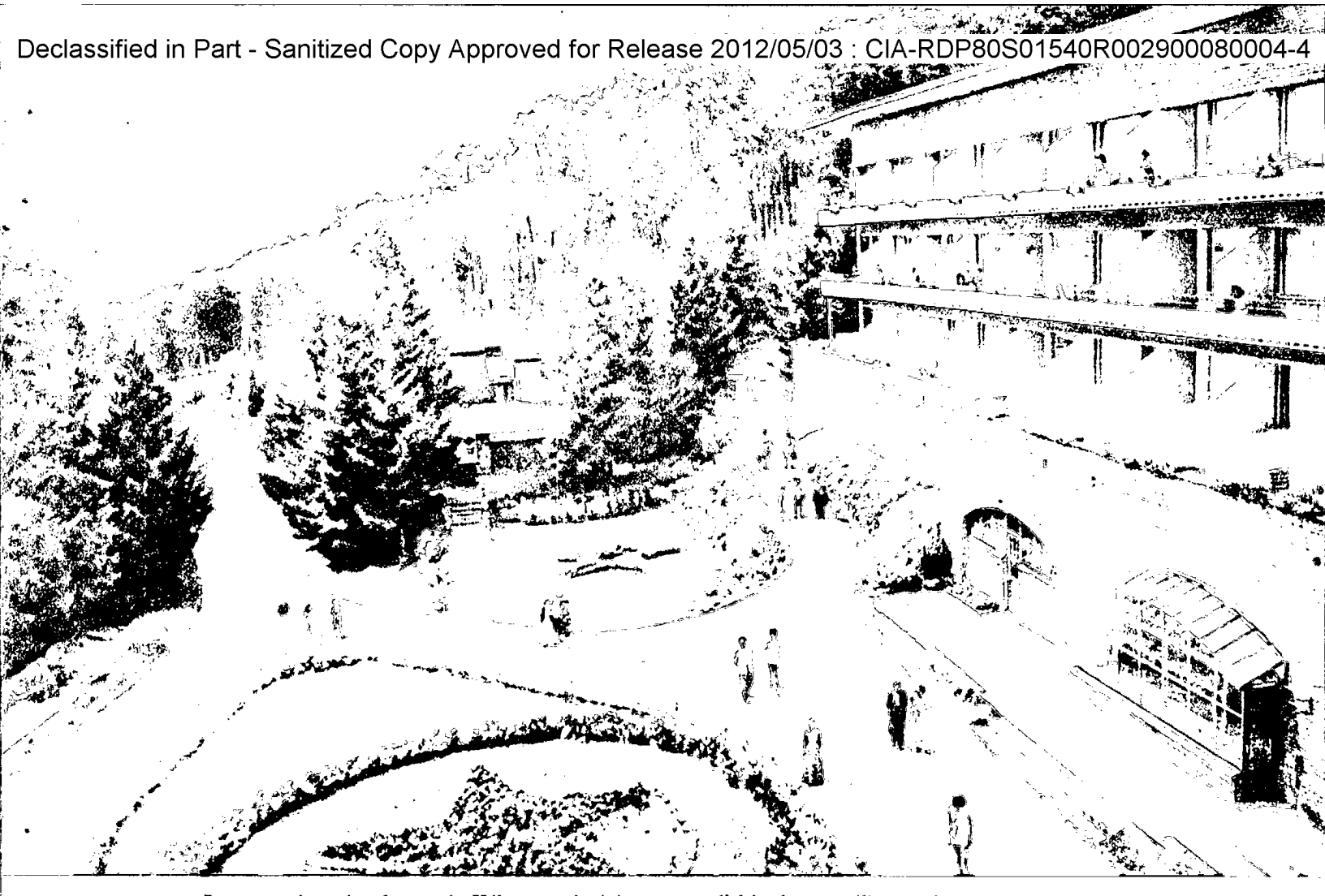

Le sanatorium du plateau de Kékes est situé à 1,000 m d'altitude, au milieu de forêts verdoyantes

Notre Etat apporte un soin vigilant à la sauvegarde de la santé de « l'homme, le capital le plus précieux ». 6 millions de travailleurs hongrois bénéficient de la Sécurité Sociale, de traitements médicaux gratuits, et de soins d'hôpital

The sanatorium of Kékestető is situated at a height of 1000 metres amidst a sylvan wilderness

"The greatest value is man": his health is guarded with loving care by our State. Six million Hungarian workers enjoy social insurance, free medical attendance and hospital treatment

La 1000 metri înălțime, între pădurile verzi intinse e așezat sănătoriul Kékestető

Statul nostru ocrotește cu cea mai mare grijă sănătatea omului care este „capitalul cel mai de preț". Șase milioane oameni ai muncii, se bucură de asigurare socială, de asistență medicală gratuită, tratament de spital

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L'Etat du peuple prend soin de son avenir, l'enfance, aussi bien par des actes que par la loi

La loi sur la défense de la mère et du nouveau-né atteste que la République Populaire Hongroise suit avec une vigilance affectueuse le cours de la vie du « petit citoyen » dès l'instant de sa naissance

The people's State is looking to its own future, the children, with the force of law and deeds alike. The Law on the Protection of Mothers and Infants proves that the loving care of the Hungarian People's Republic is extended to the little "citizen" from the moment of his birth

Statul poporului poartă grijă prin legi şi prin fapte de viitorul său, de copii. Legea pentru ocrotirea mamei şi a copilului dovedeşte : Republica Populară Ungară se ocupă cu deosebită grijă şi dragoste de micul „cetăţean" în tot cursul vieţii sale

La nouvelle maternité rurale de Tiszakürt

A new village maternity home at Tiszakürt

Noua maternitate comunală dela Tiszakürt

Joyeuses emplettes . . . L'Etat pourvoit les jeunes mères à titre gracieux, d'une layette, dont la valeur s'élève à 400 forints

Truly a happy "purchase" . . . Young mothers receive, as a present, 400 forints worth of infants' clothing from our State

Un adevărat „Târg vesel" . . . Mamele tinere primesc dela stat un trusou în valoare de 400 Forinţi pentru copilaşii lor

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Protection de l'enfance, prévention des maladies . . . examen radiographique dans un dispensaire médical

To protect the child — to prevent disease
X-ray examination in a dispensary

A preveni boala inseamnă a — apăra copilul
Examinare cu raze radiologice într'un cabinet medical

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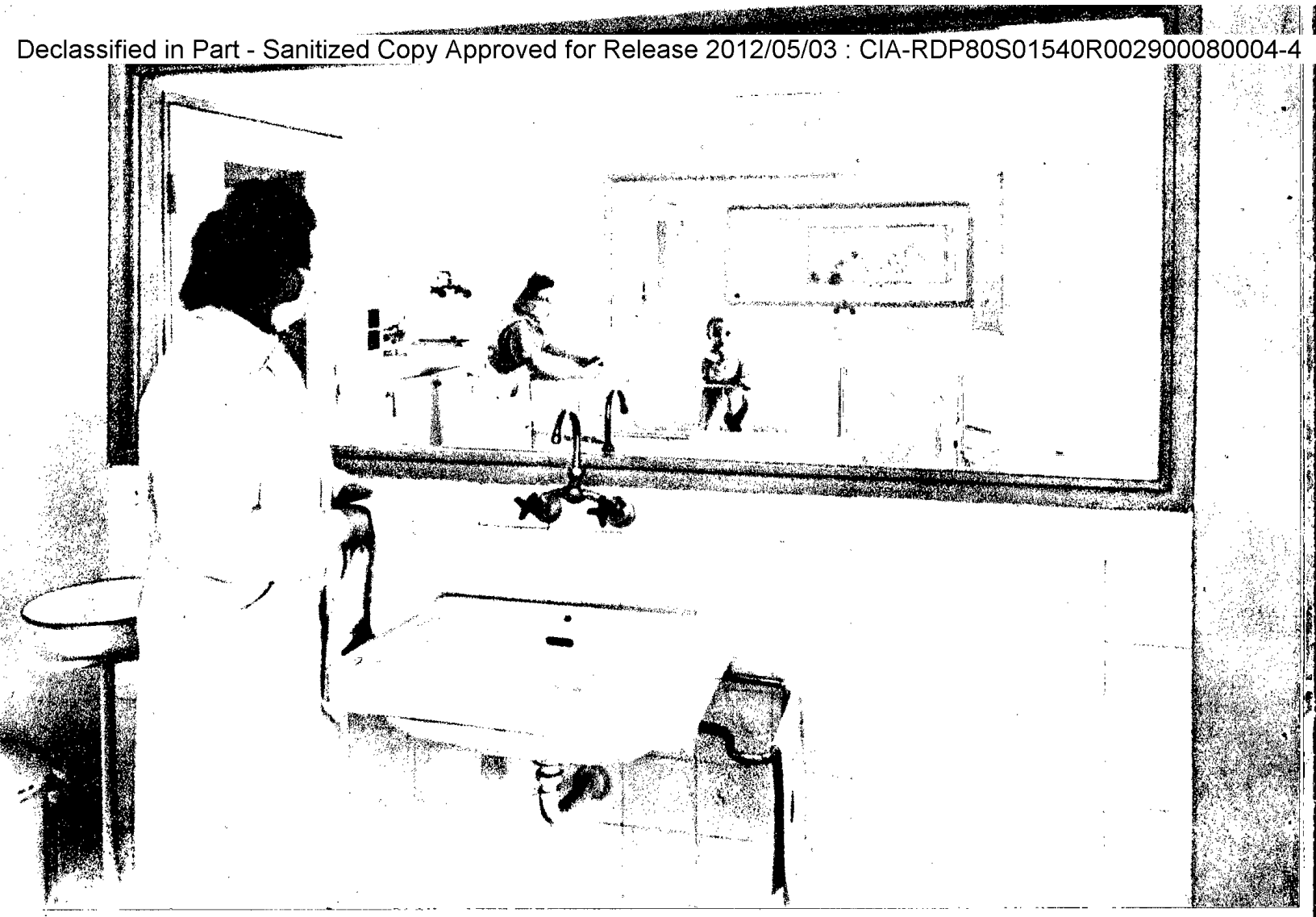

Des mains expertes soignent avec amour les charmants petits, dont les yeux s'ouvrent tout grands sur le monde. Voici un aspect du nouveau service de pédiatrie de l'Hôpital « Làszló » de Budapest

The little kids , awed by the big outside world, are guarded by loving and careful hands. The new, up-to-date Children's Ward in the "László" Hospital in Budapest

Micuţii drăgălaşi, care privesc cu uimire lumea sunt trataţi cu atenţie, cu dragoste. Secţia nouă pentru copii, la spitalul „László" din Budapesta

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Notre trésor le plus cher, c'est l'enfant

Our most precious treasure: the child

Comoara noastră cea mai scumpă: copilul

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Leur sourire, c'est la joie du pays

Their smile is the joy of the country

Zâmbetul lor e bucuria țării

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Le pays veille à leur avenir

Their future is guarded by the country

Ţara întreagă asigură viitorul lor

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Le mot « pionnier » signifie une vie heureuse et souriante pour plusieurs centaines de mille enfants

Ils ne connaissent que par oui-dire cet ancien monde où des enfants de 10 à 12 ans devaient souvent faire un travail épuisant, pour ne pas mourir de faim . . . Comme la vie des enfants, des jeunes hongrois est différente aujourd'hui ! Comme elle est inoubliablement belle et sans soucis !

Pioneer : a word which has come to mean a smiling, happy life for many hundreds of thousands of children

It is only by hearsay that they know the old world in which children of 10—12 years of age had to perform work which crippled them physically and mentally, to save themselves from starvation . . . How different is the life of our children and young people! What an unforgettably beautiful, carefree life they have !

Cuvântul : „pionier" înseamnă viaţă fericită, zâmbitoară pentru sute — şi sute de mii de copii

Ei cunosc numai din poveşti lumea cea veche, în care copii de 12 ani trebuiau să execute munci, care distrugeau trupul şi sufletul, numai pentru a putea scăpa de foamete şi apoi de moarte . . . Cât demult se deosebeşte de aceasta, viaţa de azi a copiilor, a tineretului ungar. Cât e de frumoasă şi fericită

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Csillebérc — ville des pionniers. Des milliers de jeunes y passent des jours inoubliables. Les dirigeants élus par la jeunesse prennent part à l'administration de la ville, qui possède son bureau de poste et son chemin de fer particuliers, ainsi que son théâtre en plein air et son stade sportif

Csillebérc, the Pioneers' Town. Thousands of young people spend unforgettably beautiful days here. The leaders, elected by the young people, also have a part in the management of the town's affairs. The town possesses its own post-office, railway, open-air theatre and sports grounds

Csillebérc — oraş al pionierilor. Mii şi mii de tineri petrec aici zile frumoase ce nu se pot uita. In conducerea treburilor oraşului iau parte şi conducătorii aleşi de tineret. Oraşul are oficiu postal, cale ferată, teatru în aer liber şi arenă sportivă, — toate proprii

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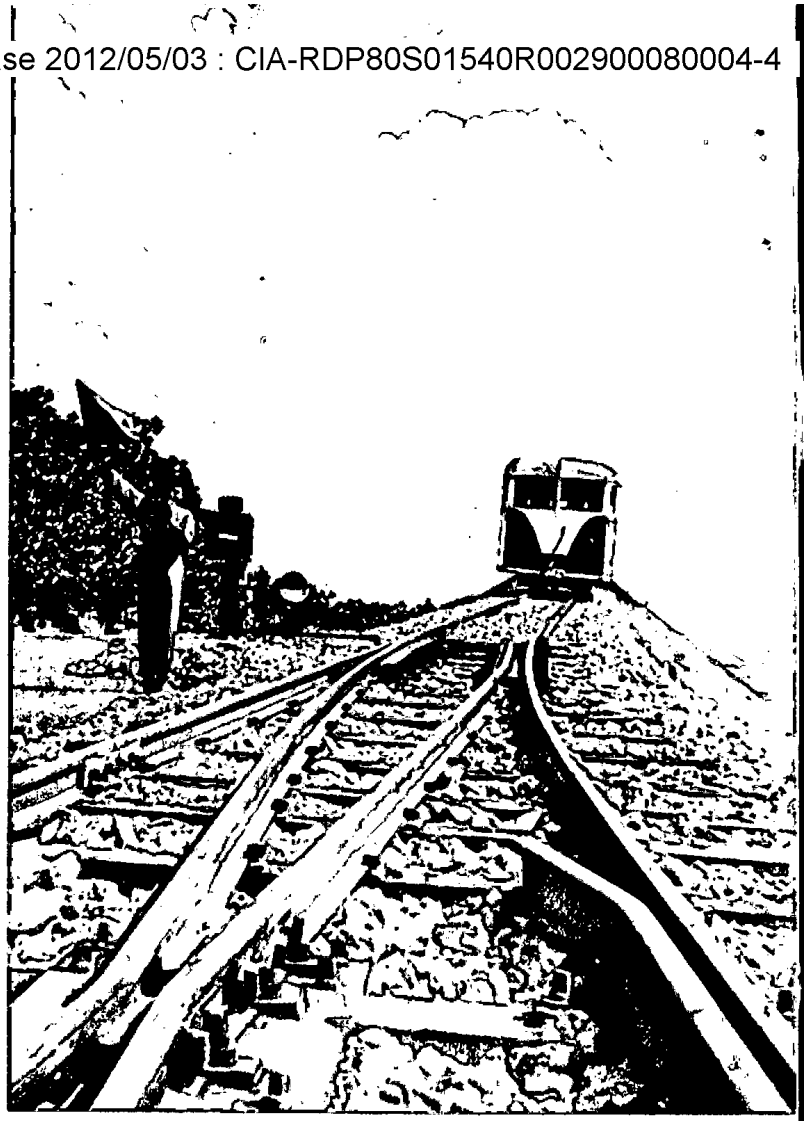

« Un conte de fées qui se réalise ». Le chef de gare, le contrôleur, le receveur, tous sont des enfants
pour emmener les voyageurs

"Fairyland come to life". Both stationmaster and traffic manager, as well as the ticket clipper,
spots of Budapest and carries the passengers

A reînviat „Lumea poveştilor". Şeful de gară, împiegatul de mişcare, conductorul de tren, toţi sunt
ale Budapestei şi transportă

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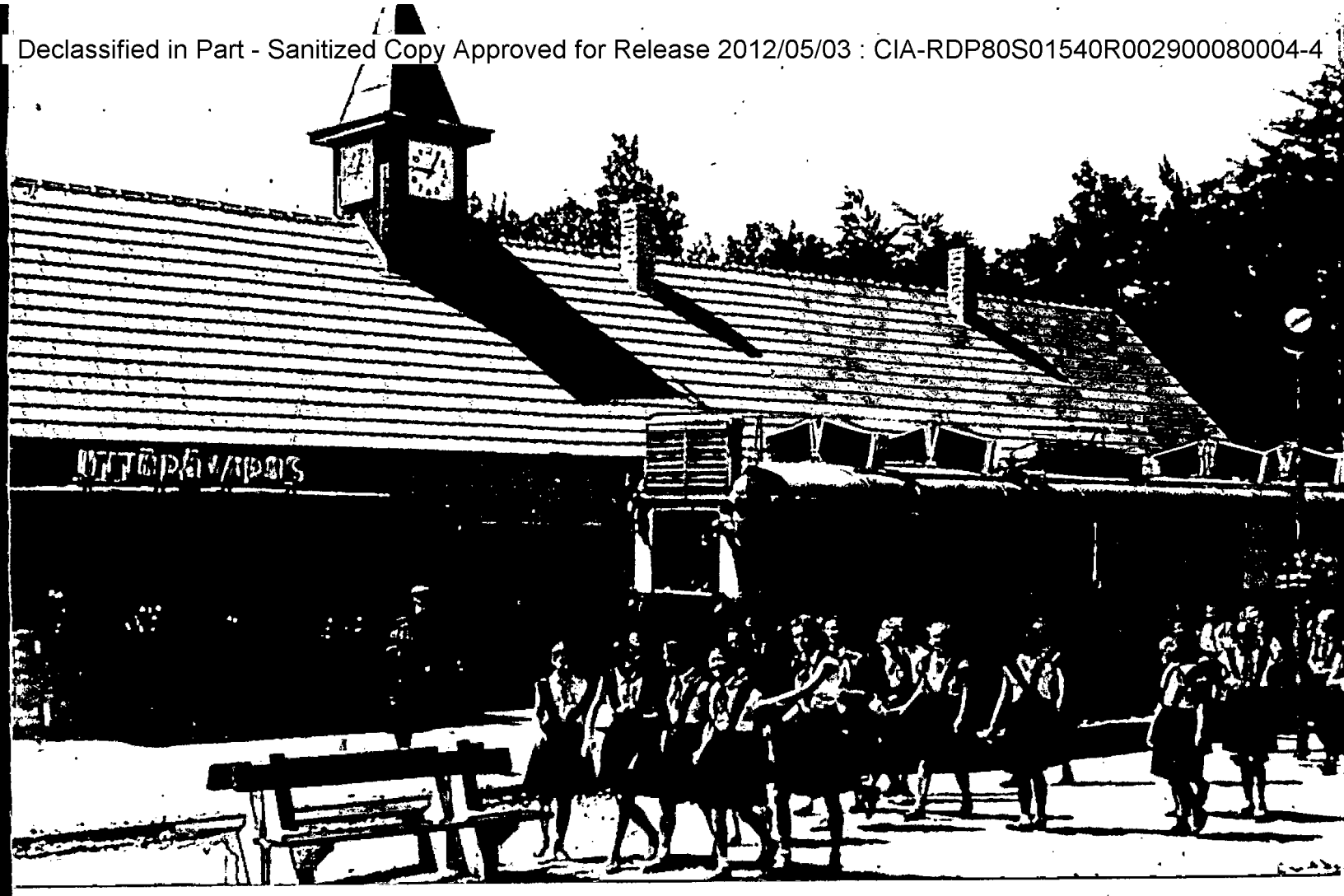

sur ce beau petit train qui traverse les plus beaux sites d'excursion de la région de Budapest, à Csillebérc, ville des pionniers

are Pioneers on this splendid little railway which winds it way through some of the most beautiful to Csillebérc, the Pioneers' Town

pionieri la aceasta mică minunată cale ferată, care trece prin locurile cele mai frumoase de excursie călătorii la Oraşul pionierilor

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Exercices de dessin dans la Maison des Pionniers

Drawing exercise in the House of Young Pioneers

Exerciţii de desemn în Casa Pionierilor

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Le cercle des « bricoleurs »

Circle of "Jacks of All Trades"

Cercul de specialitate „mă pricep la toate"

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L'été au camp des pionniers . . . Pendant les vacances, les pionniers campent dans les plus belles contrées du pays

Summer in the Pioneers' camp . . . Pioneers camp in the

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country's most beautiful regions during the summer holidays

Vara în tabăra pionierilor . . . Pionierii își petrec vacanța de vară în regiunile cele mai frumoase ale țării Fac cunoștință cu evenimentele glorioase ale trecutului ungar

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Faisant la connaissance des glorieux souvenirs du passé hongrois, les pionniers d'Eger écoutent l'histoire des héroïques défenseurs du fort d'Eger

They become acquainted with the glorious deeds of Hungary's past . . .
The Pioneers of Eger listening to the story of the heroic defenders of the fortress of Eger

Pionierii din Eger ascultând istoria eroicilor apărători ai cetății Eger

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Pionniers en visite au Musée National

Pioneers in the National Museum

Pionierii la Muzeul Național

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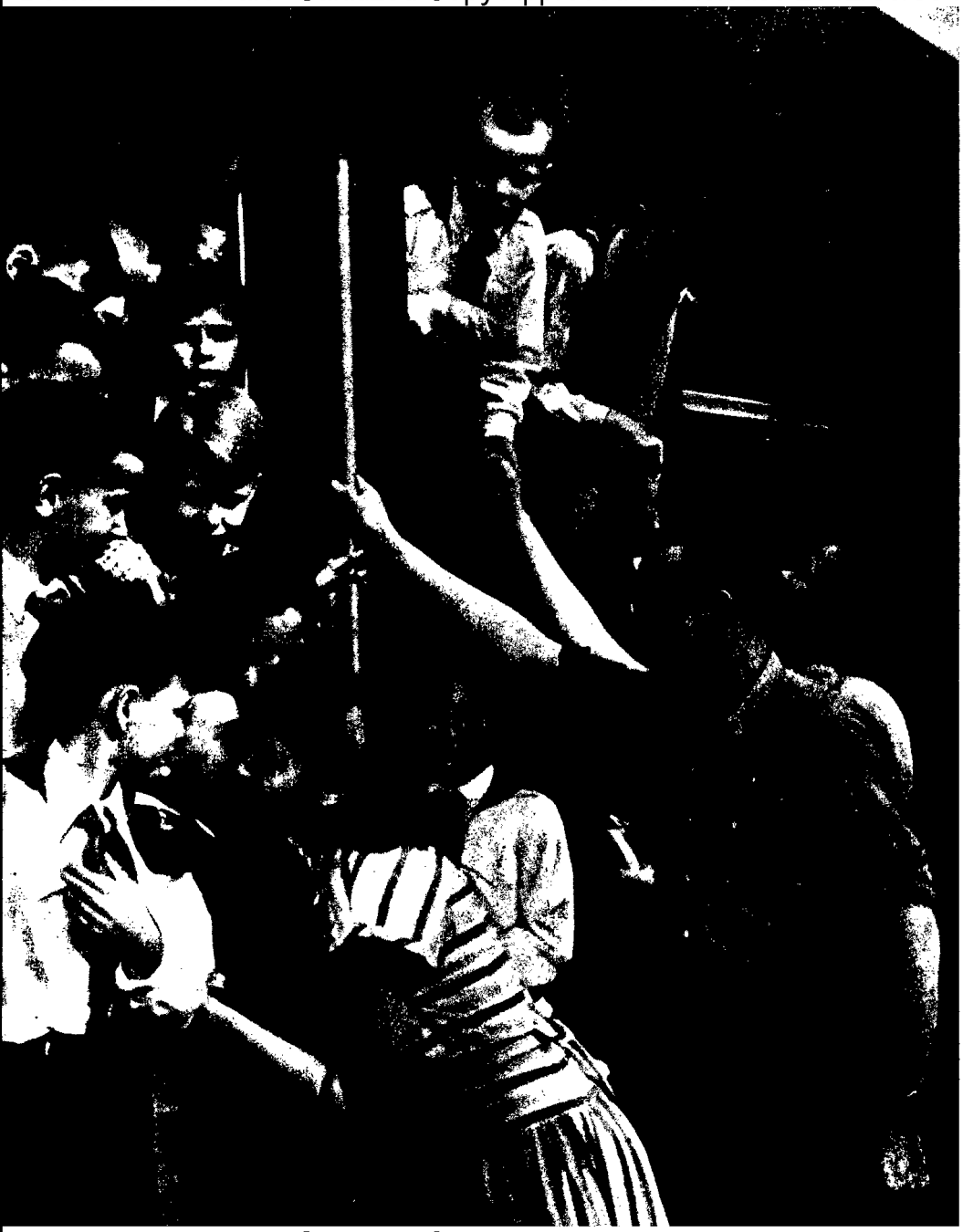

Bon voyage, les copains ! Départ d'un groupe de pionniers pour 15 jours de vacances

Farewell, chums ! A Pioneer group leaves for a fortnight of camping

Drum bun ! Un grup de pionieri pleacă la tabăra lor de vară pe 2 săptămâni

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Le camp des pionniers de Parád accueille des pionniers durant toute l'année

Pioneers refresh themselves in the Pioneer camp at Parád all the year round

In tabăra lor din Parád, pionierii se pot recrea în tot timpul anului

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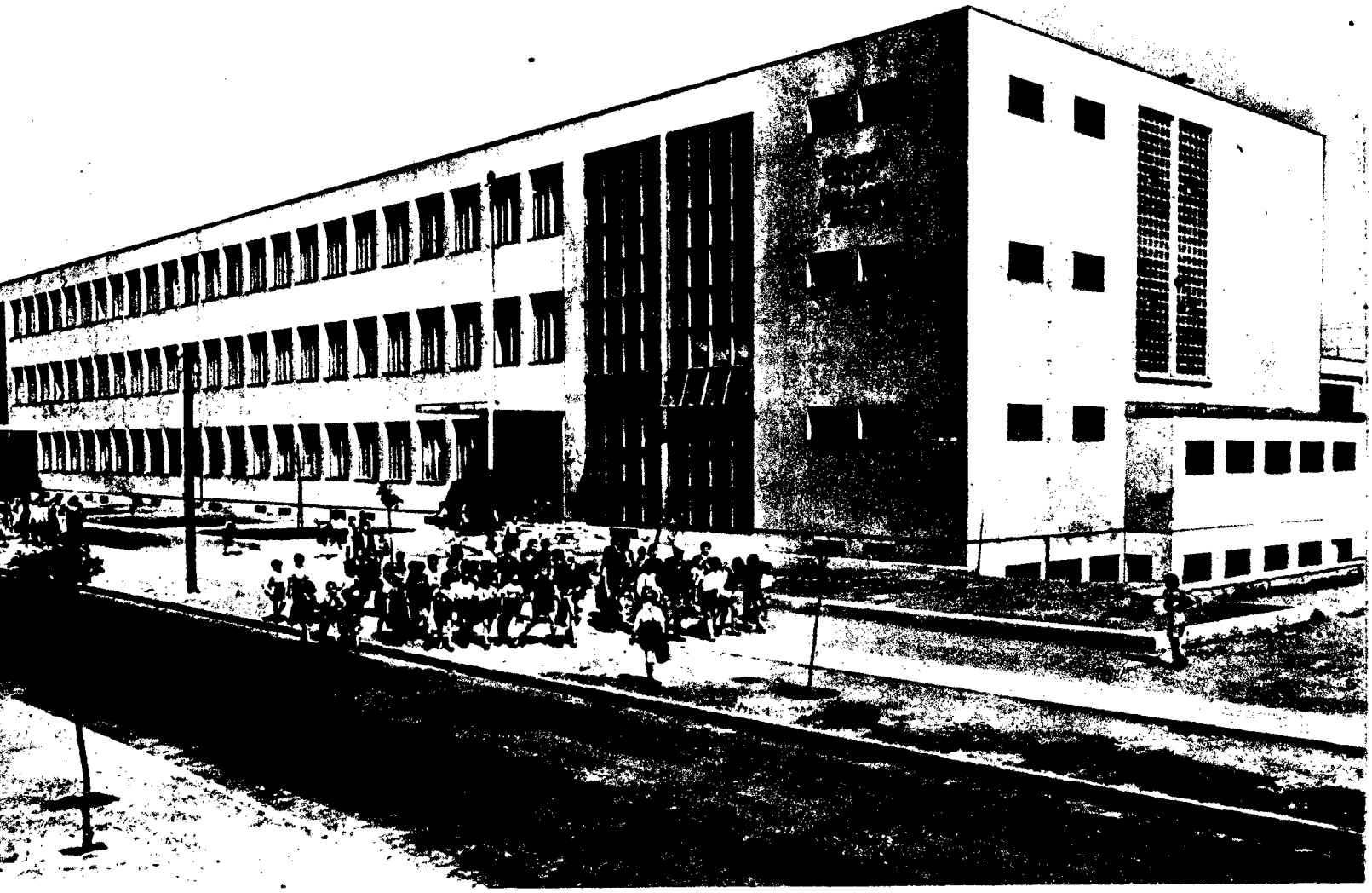

Toutes les portes sont ouvertes aux jeunes hongrois. Quelle joie que l'étude dans des écoles comme celle-ci ! L'école générale de la rue György Kilián, à Budapest

Every gate has been thrown open to Hungarian young people. It is a joy to be able to study in such a school. Primary school on Kilián György Street in Budapest

Toate porţile sunt larg deschise în faţa tineretul maghiar. Intr'o şcoală ca aceasta e o plăcere să înveţi. Scoală generelă din strada Kilián György, din Budapesta

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On bâtit de nouvelles écoles au village aussi. La salle de chimie de l'école générale de Szikszó

New schools are being built in the countryside, too. The chemistry room in the primary school at Szikszó

Se clădesc şcoli noui şi la sate. Sala de chimie a Şcolii generale din Szikszó

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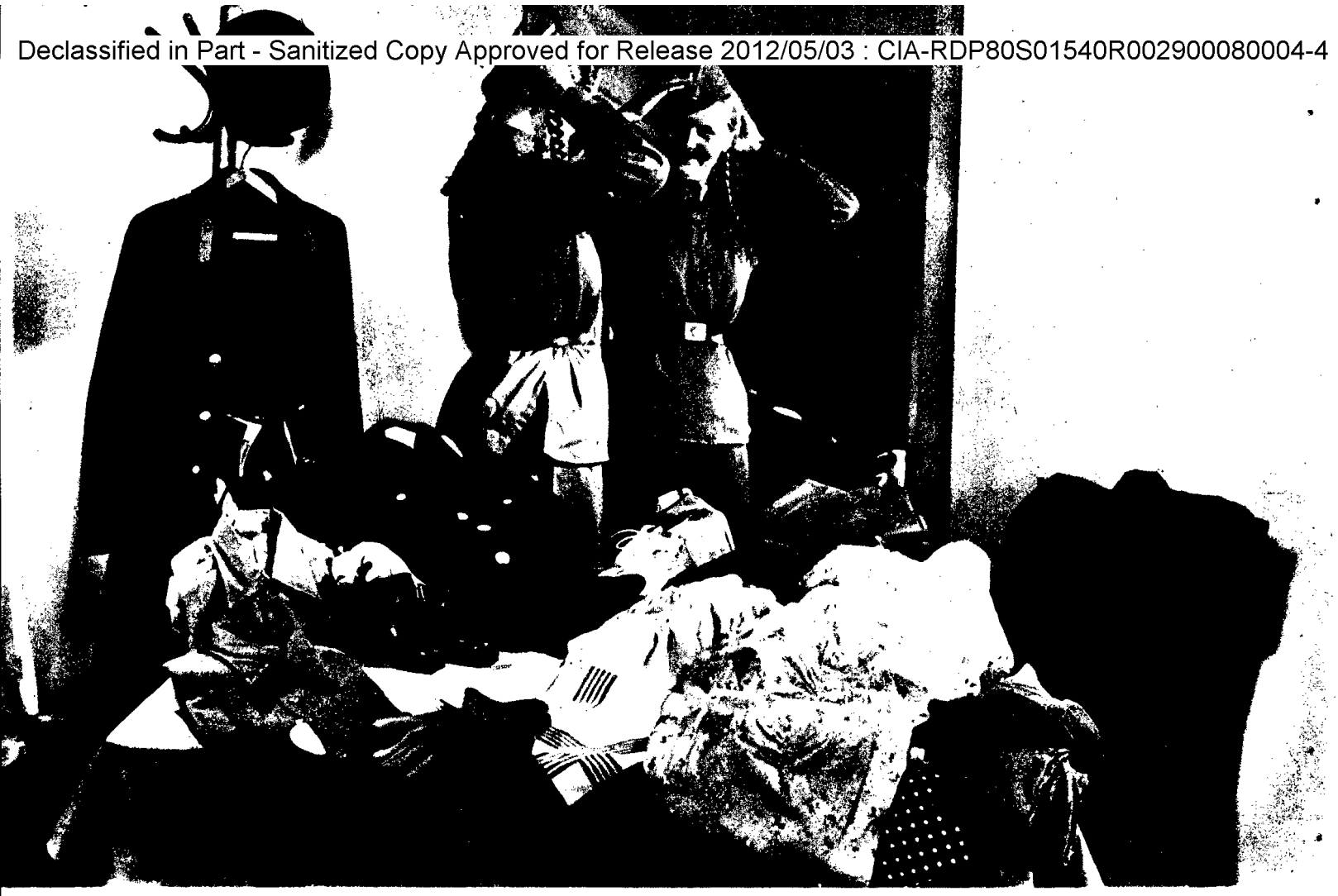

S'instruire ! — C'est la seule tâche, le seul souci de l'apprenti hongrois. L'industrie attend impatiemment les dizaines, les centaines de mille de nouveaux ouvriers qui sont à la charge de l'Etat pendant la durée de leur apprentissage. La République Populaire Hongroise consacre dix mille forints par an à l'entretien et à l'instruction de chaque apprenti

Study ! — the chief task of Hungarian apprentices. Industry awaits the tens and hundreds of thousands of new workers who are cared for by the State during their apprenticeship. The Hungarian People's Republic spends 10,000 forints per year on the accommodation and education of each apprentice

A învăța ! — aceasta este principala, singura preocupare a elevilor din școlile rezervelor de muncă maghiare. Industria așteaptă cu nerăbdare pe zecile și sutele de mii de muncitori noi, care în timpul învățatului sunt întreținuți de stat. Pentru întreținerea și instruirea unui elev Republica Populară Maghiară cheltuiește 10.000 Forinți pe an

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Un cadeau du plan quinquennal . . . La salle de club d'une nouvelle école d'apprentissage industriel

A gift of the Plan . . . The lounge of a new school for apprentices

Cadoul Cincinalului . . . Noua sală de conversaţie a unei şcoli industriale

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Stakhanovistes de l'avenir . . . La génération plus âgée d'ouvriers spécialisés apporte un grand soin et une grande affection à la formation de la relève, qui lui succèdera

Future Stakhanovites . . . The "relief" is being trained and taught with much care and love by the senior skilled workers

Stahanoviştii viitorului . . . Muncitorul calificat mai în vârstă se ocupă cu multă grijă şi dragoste de noul „schimb"

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Les piqueurs de demain apprennent le maniement des lampes de mineurs

The cutters and hewers learn how to handle the Davy lamp

Minerii de mâine studiază mânuirea lămpii de miner

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Nos constructions nouvelles : Sztálinváros, Diósgyőr les attendent . . . Il nous faut dix mille nouveaux ingénieurs et c'est d'ici que la plupart des nouveaux ingénieurs partiront vers la vie consciente et pleine d'audace créatrice

Voici l'Université Technique de l'Industrie Lourde « Mátyàs Rákosi », à Miskolc

The new feats of the Plan, Sztálinváros and Diósgyőr, are awaiting them . . . We need 10,000 new engineers ; a considerable part of the new engineers will start here on their path towards a life of set goals and daring creations. The "Mátyás Rákosi" University of Heavy Industry at Miskolc

Ei sunt aşteptaţi de realizările noastre noui, Sztálinváros, Diósgyőr . . . Avem nevoie de 10.000 ingineri noui, şi o parte însemnată a inginerilor noui pleacă de aici spre o viaţă conştientă, creatoare.

Universitatea Tehnică „Rákosi Mátyás" pentru industria grea, din Miskolc

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Jeunes ouvriers et paysans, — professeurs de l'avenir. La République Populaire Hongroise attache une grande importance au développement de l'enseignement supérieur. Au cours de l'année dernière, 46.000 étudiants se sont préparés à leur profession dans les universités, et dans les laboratoires bien équipés . . .

Étudiants de la section de botanique de l'École Supérieure Pédagogique

Young workers and peasants: the future professors. Great attention is paid by the Hungarian People's Republic to the development of higher education. Last year 46,000 college and university students were trained for their respective professions in well-equipped institutions and laboratories . . . Students of the botany class at the College of Education

Tineri muncitori şi ţărani — profesorii viitorului. Republica Populară Ungară se preocupă în mod deosebit de desvoltarea învăţământului superior. In anul trecut deja 46.000 tineri au studiat la universităţile şi în laboratoarele excelent înzestrate . . .

Studenţii secţiei botanice a Scoalei Pedagogice Superioară

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Apprendre est aussi une affaire d'honneur et de gloire. La République populaire décerne de hautes distinctions aux jeunes dont les études témoignent des meilleurs progrès

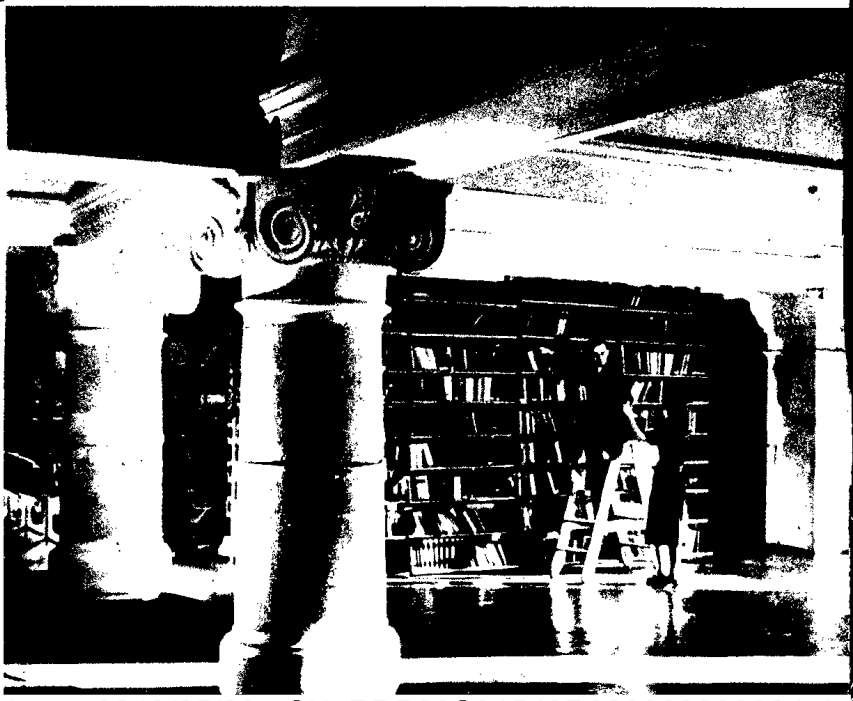
Studying is a matter of honour and glory. Young people with the highest school record receive high decorations from the People's Republic

Şi studierea e o chestiune de cinste şi de onoare. Republica Populară premiază cu distincţii înalte pe acei tineri care în studiile lor au atins rezultatele cele mai bune

Sándor Somogyi, étudiant à la Faculté des Lettres, qui a gagné l'ordre du Mérite des études « Mátyás Rákosi

Sándor Somogyi, student of Arts and Sciences, received the school decoration "Mátvás Rákosi"

Somogyi Sándor, student în litere, distins cu medalia de studii „Rákosi Mátyás"



La bibliothèque de l'Université d'économie politique « Karl Marx »

Library of the "Karl Marx" University of Economics.

Biblioteca Universităţii Economiei Politice „Karl Marx"

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Le laboratoire de chimie de l'École technique de chimie de Debrecen

Laboratory of the Chemistry Secondary School at Debrecen

Laboratorul de chimie al Şcolii Technice-Chimice din oraşul Debrecen

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Collégiens de Székesfehérvár au réfectoire de leur institut

Students in the dining room of the student home in Székesfehérvár

Studenţii din Székesfehérvár în sala de mese a căminului studenţesc

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Comment vivent les étudiants dans la nouvelle Hongrie . . .

Student life in new Hungary

Viața studenților în Ungaria nouă

Maintenant, c'est le peuple qui exploite les terres des anciens maîtres des châteaux. Et dans les châteaux, les fils et les filles des nouveaux agriculteurs vivent la vie studieuse des étudiants hongrois, riche en évènements et en beauté

Farming on the fields of the former landlords, the one-time owners of castles, is now done by the people. The castles are now occupied by the sons and daughters of the new owners of the soil; they lead here the Hungarian students' industrious, happy and rich life

Pe pământul stăpânului vechiu al castelului acum gospodărește poporul. Iar în castel fiii și fiicele noilor stăpâni își trăiesc viața lor studențească, activă, harnică, bogată în evenimente și frumuseți

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Un cours au Conservatoire de Musique

Class at the Musical Academy

Oră de curs la Scoala Superioară de Muzică

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Ce ne sont pas ses origines, mais son talent qui détermine l'artiste . . . Les jeunes se préparent à leur vocation d'artistes par un travail assidu

The problem of who is to become an artist is decided by talent and not by descent . . . The young people prepare for their artistic careers with much zeal and ambition

Nu originea, ci talentul decide, cine va fi artist . . . Și tinerii depun multă muncă, pregătindu-se sârguincios pentru profesia lor de artă

Un cours à l'Ecole Nationale de Ballet

Class in the State Ballet School

Oră de curs la Școala de balet de Stat

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Une nouvelle génération d'artistes, issue du peuple, se forme. Jeunes sculpteurs devant l'atelier de l'École Supérieure des Beaux-Arts

A new generation, cultivators of the fine arts, is growing out of the ranks of the people
Young sculptors in front of the studio of the Academy of Fine Arts

Din rândurile fiilor poporului se ridică o nouă generaţie de artişti plastici. Sculptori tineri în faţa atelierului Şcolii Superioare de Artă Plastică

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Jeunes artistes dans l'atelier József Breznay-peintre, prix Munkácsy

József Breznay, painter, Munkácsy Prize Winner

Artiști tineri în atelier Pictorul Breznay József, distins cu Premiul „Munkácsy"

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L'ensemble de danses populaires de l'État hongrois. Les jeunes membres de l'équipe ont été applaudis par de nombreux milliers de spectateurs au cours de plusieurs centaines de représentations, données en Union Soviétique, en Chine, en Tchécoslovaquie . . .

Dancing group of the Hungarian State Folk Ensemble. Many thousands of spectators have enjoyed the hundreds of performances given by the young members of the ensemble. They have visited the Soviet Union, China and Czechoslovakia

Echipa de dansuri a Ansamblului Popular de Stat Ungar. Membrii tineri ai Ansamblului, prin multe sute de reprezentații au distrat mii și mii de spectatori. Ei au fost și în Uniunea Sovietică, în China și în Cehoslovacia

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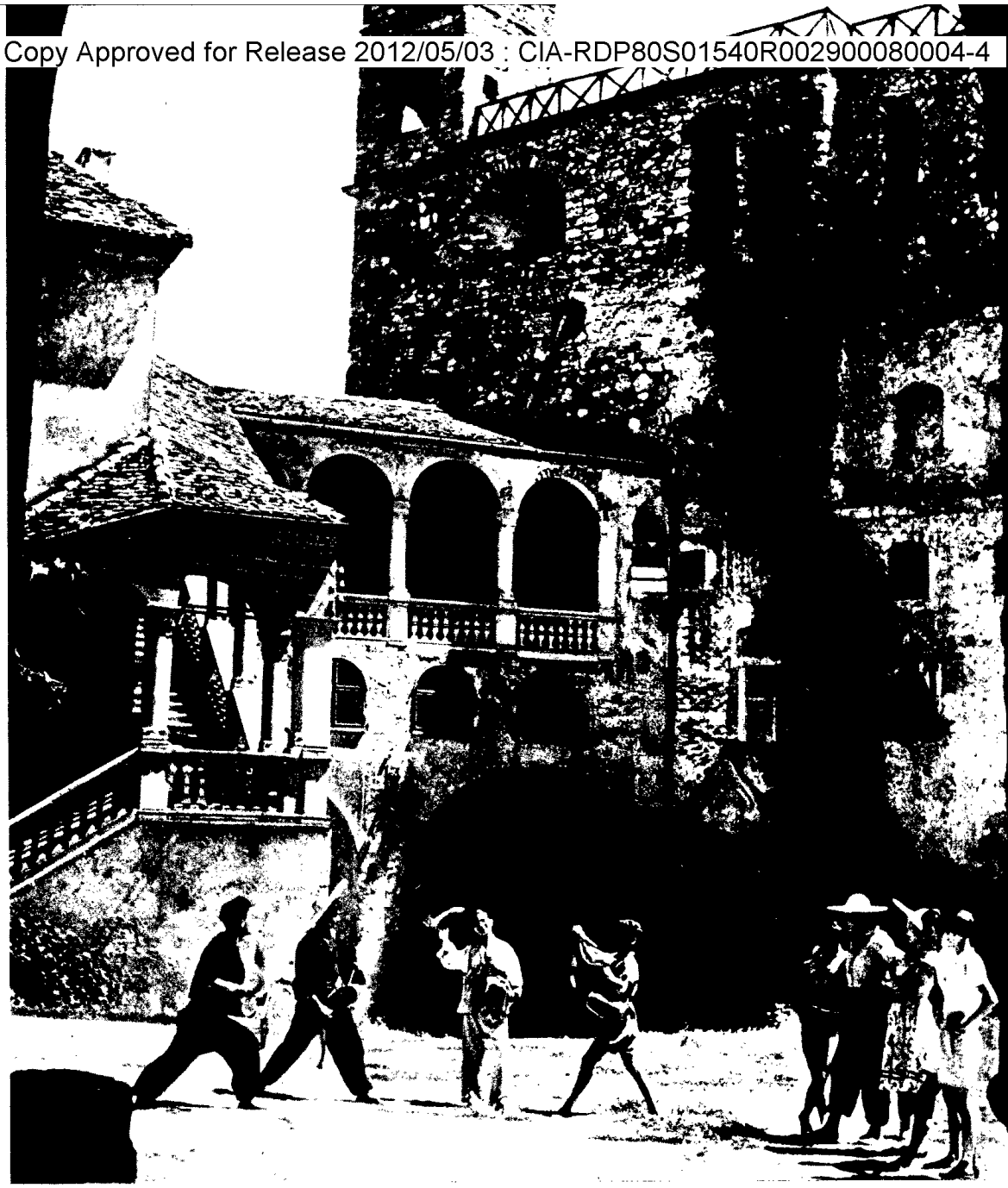

Le château Rákóczi de Sárospatak garde la mémoire d'une glorieuse période des guerres d'indépendance hongroise du passé. Ses murs abritent maintenant des artistes

The Rákóczi castle at Sárospatak preserves the records of one of the glorious periods of our wars of independence. Artists are now accommodated within the castle's ancient walls

Cetatea Rákóczi din Sárospatak păstrează amintirea unei epoci glorioase din trecutul maghiar al luptelor pentru libertate. Acum zidurile vechi ale cetății adăpostesc artiști

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Détails des films Hongrois

Cuttings from Hungarian films

Niște partiale din filmele maghiare

La vie du compositeur Ferenc Erkel

Erkel

Erkel

Raz de Marée

The Sea has risen

Sa rásculat marea

Tout le monde en piste

Try and Win

Civil în stadion

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Quelques bons conseils amicaux aux jeunes travailleurs du cinéma . . . Serge Bondardtchouk, Artiste Populaire de l'Union Soviétique, deux fois lauréat du Prix Staline, s'entretient avec les interprètes du film hongrois : « Joyeuse Jeunesse », dont le sujet est tiré de la vie des apprentis de l'industrie

A few bits of sound advice to the young film workers . . . Serge Bondardchuk, People's Artist, twice Stalin Prize winner, in conversation with the actors of the Hungarian film : "Joyful Youth," a musical comedy that deals with the life of Hungarian apprentices

Câteva sfaturi bune, prietenești, tinerilor muncitori ai cinematografiei . . .
Sergei Bondarciuc, artistul poporului din Uniunea Sovietică, laureat de douăori el Premiului Stalin, vorbind cu interpreții filmului „Cu inima tânără" scris din viața elevilor industriali

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L'attribution du Prix Staline à deux jeunes écrivains hongrois, prouve la vigueur de la nouvelle littérature hongroise et nous remplit de fierté

The fact that two young Hungarian authors were found worthy of the Stalin Prize, illustrates the strength of new Hungarian literature, and has filled the whole of our people with pride

Faptul că doi scriitori tineri au fost laureaţi cu premiul Stalin, dovedoşte puterea literaturii ungare şi inspiră mândrie întregului nostru popor

Sándor Nagy, écrivain, lauréat des Prix Staline et Kossuth

Sándor Nagy, writer, Stalin- and Kossuth-Prize winner

Nagy Sándor, scriitor laureat al Premiului Stalin şi al Premiului Kossuth

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Tamàs Aczél, écrivain, lauréat des Prix Staline et Kossuth s'entretient avec des ouvriers, sur le roman auquel il travaille

Tamás Aczél, writer, Stalin- and Kossuth-Prize winner chatting with workmen about his new novel to be published

Aczél Tamás, scriitor laureat al Premiului Stalin şi al Premiului Kossuth, vorbeşte cu muncitori despre romanul lui viitor

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« Le monde est en effervescence ». Le choeur unifié de la jeunesse exécute l'oeuvre de Zoltán Kodály au concert des Journées Musicales de la Jeunesse

"The World is Seething." A united youth choir performs this choral work by Zoltán Kodály during a concert of the Week of Music for Youth

„Lumea în fierbere". Corul unit al tineretului cântă opera scrisă pentru cor de Kodály Zoltán, la concertul zilelor muzicale ale tineretului

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Des chansons nouvelles naissent dans les villages hongrois. Les jeunes paysans hongrois ne chantent pas seulement les nouvelles chansons, mais s'efforcent aussi de retrouver les plus belles créations de l'art poétique populaire et les chansons folkloriques

New songs are born in the Hungarian countryside. The young peasants not only sing new songs but take an active part in tracing the most beautiful ancient pieces of folk music

In satele din RPU se nasc cântece noui. Tinerii ţărani maghiari cântă nu numai cântece noui, ci iau parte şi la descoperirea celor mai frumoase creaţii vechi ale poeziilor populare

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Salle de lecture du foyer culturel de Kalocsa

Reading room of the Cultural Centre at Kalocsa

Sala de lectură a căminului cultural din Kalocsa

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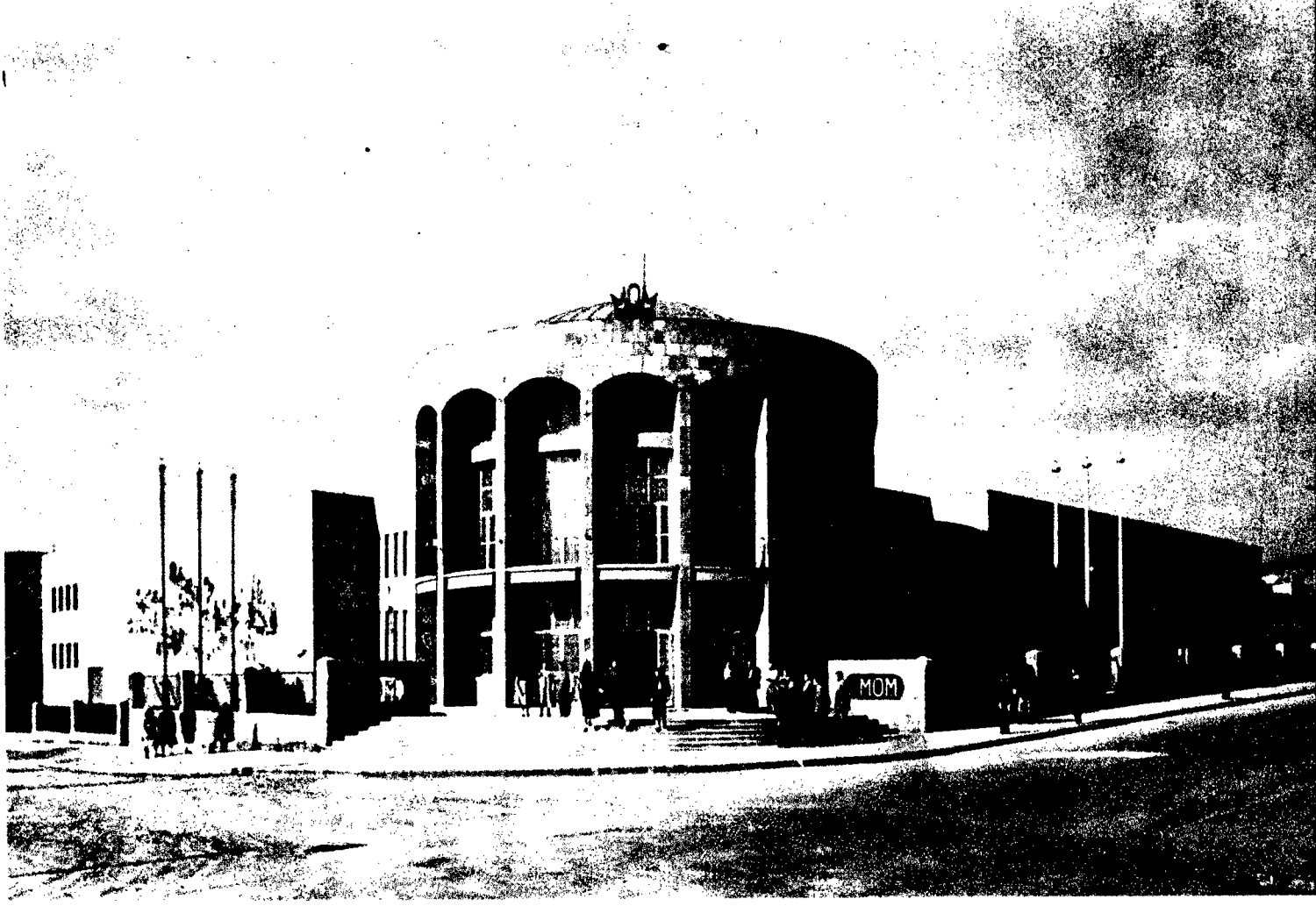

La foyer culturel des Usines Hongroises d'Optique. Pour la fin du quinquennat, il y aura dans le pays 3.500 foyers culturels bien équipés

Cultural Centre of the Hungarian Optical Works. By the end of the Five-Year Plan, 3,500 well-equipped, beautiful cultural centres will have been opened in the country

Căminul cultural al Uzinelor Ungare de Instrumente Optice La sfârşitul planului cincinal vor funcţiona în ţară 3.500 cămine culturale bine înzestrate

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L'art populaire est un trésor national. Ses « secrets » sont gardés, entretenus, transmis de génération en génération par les artistes du peuple

Folk art represents one of our national treasures. Its "secrets" are guarded as family traditions, cultivated and developed by the people's artists from generation to generation

Arta populară e o comoară națională. Și „secretele" ei sunt păstrate ca o tradiție familiară, sunt îngrijite, desvoltate din generație în generație, de către artiștii poporului

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Scènes de la vie de la coopérative « Matyó »

Pictures of life in the "Matyó" cooperative

Vederi din viața Cooperativei „Matyó"

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La chanson qui parle de la vie heureuse d'un peuple libre retentit . . . Les chants et les danses
national des ensembles culturels auquel ont participé

The song speaks of the happy life of a free people . . . This is expressed by the songs and
the national competition of art ensembles for which

Cântec despre viața fericită a unui popor liber. Despre aceasta cântă tinerii dela Egerbocs,
concursul general al formațiunilor artistice, la care

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des jeunes d'Egerbocs en témoignent ; le groupe culturel d'Egerbocs a pris part au concours 15.000 ensembles totalisant 250.000 membres

the dances of the young people of Egerbocs. The cultural group of Egerbocs took part in 15,000 groups were entered with some 250,000 participants

aceasta se oglindeşte şi în dansurile lor. Si echipa culturală din Egerbocs a luat parte la s'au întâlnit 15.000 echipe, având 250.000 interpreţi

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Gai, le mois de mai ! La fête populaire du 1-er Mai, au Bois de Ville de Budapest

May merriment. Popular festival in the City Park of Budapest on May Day

Veselie de Mai. Sărbare populară la 1. Mai, în parcul oraşului

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Printemps . . . le 1-er Mai au village hongrois

Spring . . . May Day in the Hungarian countryside

Primăvara . . . 1. Mai în satul ungar

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« Je ne puis parler des livres sans une profonde émotion, un enthousiasme joyeux » a dit Gorki. Les jeunes hongrois ressentent de plus en plus l'enthousiasme et l'amour de Gorki pour les livres

Des jeunes à la Bibliothèque Széchenyi

"I cannot speak of books without deep emotion and joyful enthusiasm," said Gorky. Such "Gorkian" enthusiasm for, and love of, books is now spreading in the minds of the young people of Hungary

Young people in the Széchényi Library

„Despre cărţi nu pot vorbi altfel, decât cu o emoţie adâncă şi cu o însufleţire plină de bucurii" — spunea Gorki. O asemenea şi din ce în ce mai mare însufleţire şi dragoste simt şi tinerii din RPU faţa de carte

Tineri în biblioteca Széchenyi

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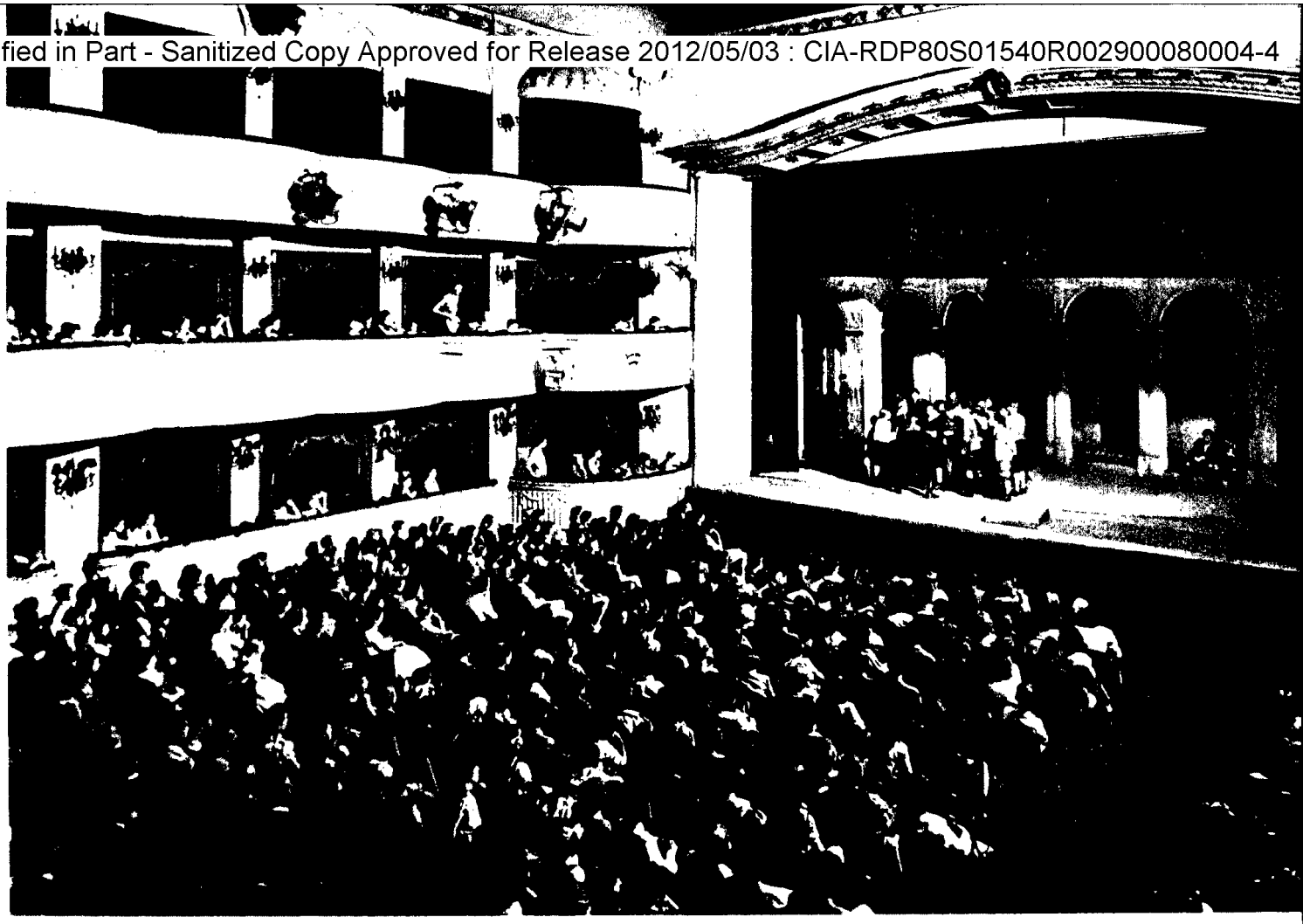

Une scene du drame de Zsigmond Móricz : « Sois bon jusqu'à la mort », au Théâtre de la Jeunesse

Performance of the play : "Be Good to Your Dying Day", by Zsigmond Móricz, in the Youth Theatre

Prezentarea dramei cu titlul „Să fii bun până la moarte" de scriitorul Moricz Zsigmond, la Teatrul Tineretului, care e teatrul tinerilor

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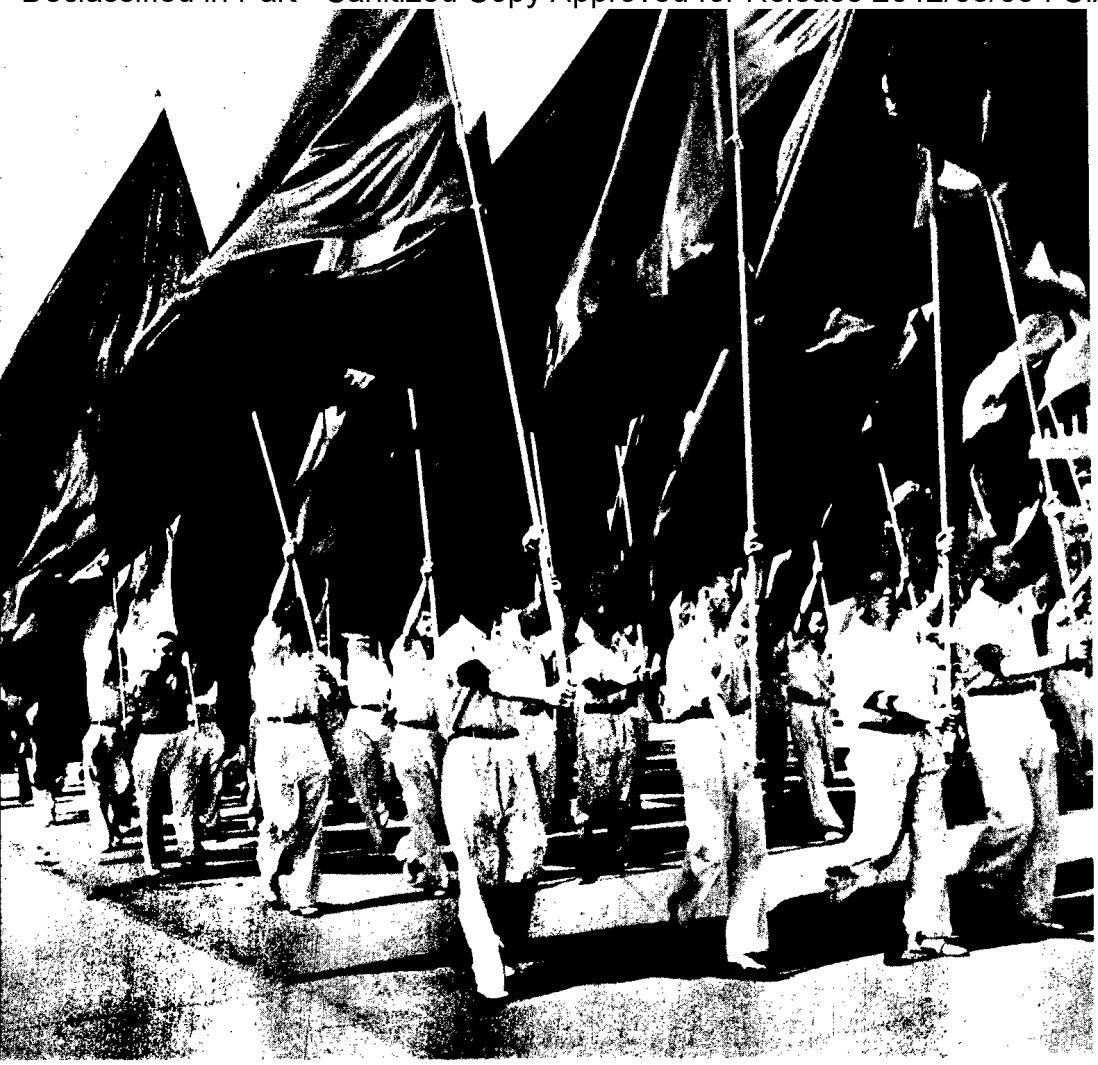

Le sport hongrois est un des grands titres de gloire de notre patrie . . .
La série de victoires de nos sportifs aux Jeux olympiques de la paix d'Helsinki fut une preuve magnifique de l'ardent amour que la jeunesse porte à sa patrie

Hungarian sports earned great honours for the homeland
The fervent patriotism of our youth was splendidly proved by the series of victories gained by our sportsmen at the Olympic Games in Helsinki

Sportul ungar a repurtat multe victorii glorioase țării noastre
Seria victoriilor repurtate de sportivii noștri la Jocurile Olimpice dela Helsinki a fost o dovadă strălucită a patriotismului înflăcărat al tineretului

Le défilé des sportifs d'élite le 1-er Mai

Parade of leading sportsmen on May Day

Defilarea sportivilor fruntași la 1 Mai

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Vers de nouvelles victoires. Champions olympiques au camp d'entraînement de Tata

On the path of new victories. Olympic champions in the training camp of Tata

Spre noui victorii. Olimpiconi în tabăra de antrenare dela Tata

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. . . et je l'ai mis knock-out ! László Papp, champion olympique poids lourd raconte son grand match

. . . and then I knocked him out ! László Papp, light middleweight Olympic champion, talks of the great contest to his young admirers

. . . şi atunci l-am dat gata ! Papp Laci, campionul olimpic la categoria „Welter", vorbeşte devotaţilor lui tineri despre concursul cel mare

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Encore une médaille d'or ! Éva Székely, championne olympique des 200 m brasse, et Éva Novák, classée troisième

One more gold medal. Éva Székely, Olympic championess of the 200-m breast stroke swimming event, and Éva Novák who placed third

O nouă medalie de aur. Székely Éva, campioana olimpică la natație piept și Novák Éva, clasificată a treia

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Amitié sportive. L'adversaire américain du jeune József Csermák, champion olympique du lancement du marteau, le félicite après sa grande victoire. Csermák n'a que 20 ans

Sports friendship. The 20-year-old Olympic champion of hammer throwing, József Csermák, is greeted after his great victory by his American rival

Prietenie sportivă. Csermák József, campionul olimpic la aruncarea ciocanului, un tânăr de 20 ani, după victoria sa cea mare este salutat de adversarul lui american

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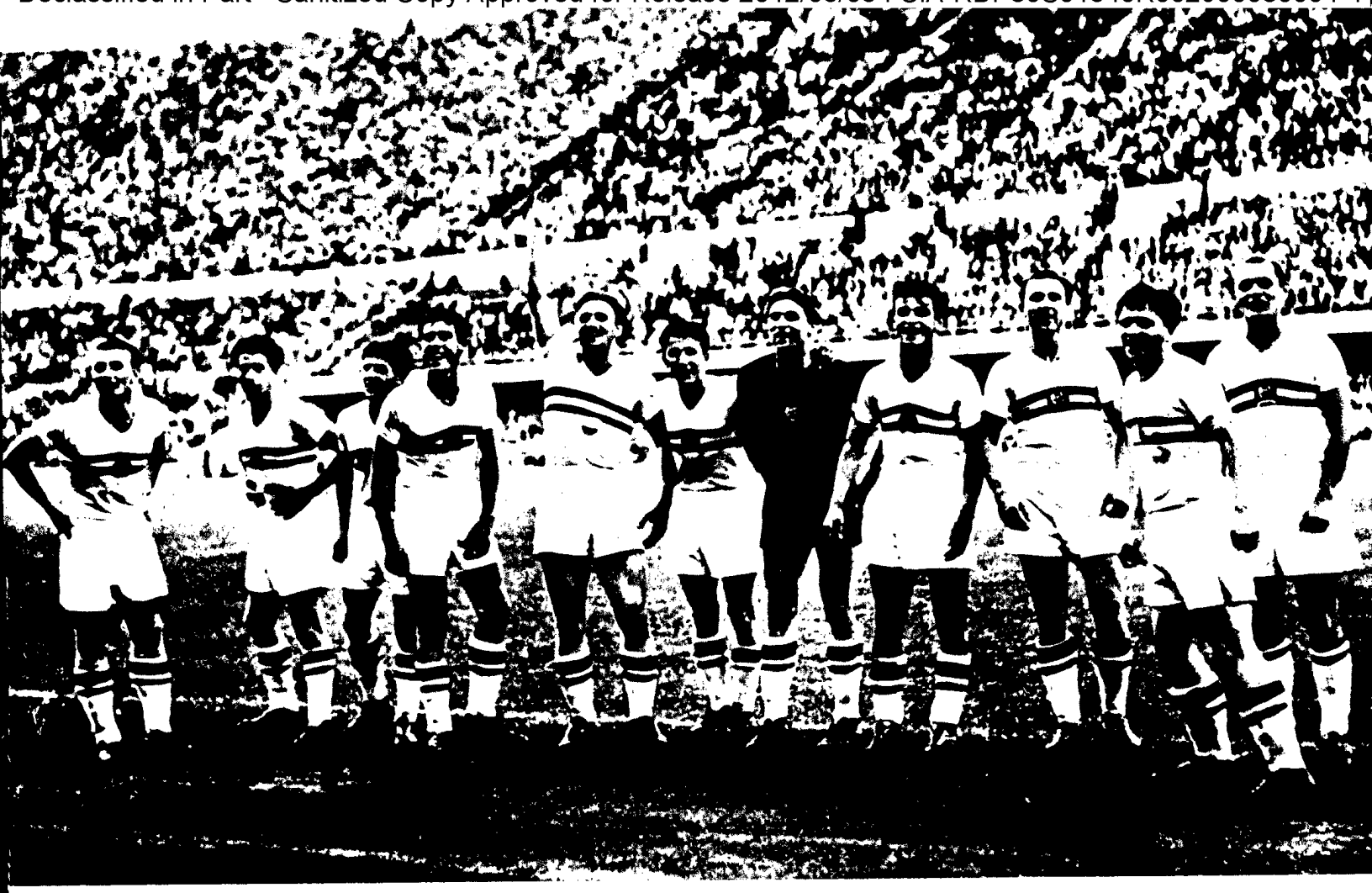

L'équipe de football hongroise, qui a gagné le championnat olympique à Helsinki, salue le public avec joie

The Hungarian football team, winner of the Olympic championship, happily greets the public

Echipa de fotbal a RPU, care a câştigat campionatul olimpic salută voios pe spectatori

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Le Stade Populaire, nouvelle forteresse du sport hongrois, qui pourra accueillir 100.000 spectateurs, est en pleine construction. Voici une brigade de jeunes, occupée au montage de la tribune

The People's Stadium, the new citadel of Hungarian sports, accommodating 100,000 spectators, is under construction. A brigade of young builders working on the concrete grandstand

Se construeşte noua citadelă a sportului ungar, Stadional Popular, cu peste 100.000 locuri pentru spectatori. Brigada constructorilor tineri montează tribuna

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Ce sont peut-être les champions olympiques de l'avenir . . .

Possible future Olympic champions . . .

Poate ei sunt viitorii campioni olimpici . . .

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Vues de la fête sportive « Les apprentis pour la paix »

Pictures of the "Apprentices for Peace" sports festival

Vederi din festivalul sportiv „Elevii şcolilor rezervelor de muncă pentru pace"

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Une belle formule hongroise de salut dit: Force et santé! Force pour le travail et la lutte, santé pour la vie heureuse. Les masses de la jeunesse d'aujourd'hui pratiquent les sports car le sport n'est plus le privilège d'une minorité restreinte, mais bien le passe-temps gai et conscient des travailleurs

There is a hearty Hungarian greeting: "Strength and health!" Strength for work and fight, health for a happy life. Great masses of the youth engage in sports nowadays, sports and recreation being no longer the privilege of a chosen few but a happy and conscious pursuit of the working people

Există un salut frumos, maghiar, care sună în felul următor: Putere şi sănătate.... Putere pentru muncă, pentru luptă; sănătate pentru viaţa fericită. Azi marile masse ale tineretului fac sport, pentrucă sportul nu mai este privilegiul celor puţini, ci distracţia veselă şi conştientă a oamenilor muncii

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Un relais de paix emporte la nouvelle et le serment : La jeunesse hongroise veut servir de toutes ses forces l'avenir pacifique commun de tous les peuples aussi bien par le zèle des jours de travail que dans la joie des fêtes

The news and the pledge are carried by the peace relay : the youth of Hungary want to serve the cause of the common peaceful future of the peoples of the world with all their strength, with all the knowledge they have acquired, with the diligent labour of their working days, and with the joy of their holidays

Stafeta de pace duce vestea, făgăduința : Tineretul ungar din toate puterile, cu capacitatea maximă, cu hărnicia zilelor de lucru și cu bucuria sărbătorilor, vrea să servească viitorul comun, pașnic al popoarelor lumii

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Où que soit braqué l'objectif de l'appareil photographique, tout, dans ce pays, parle de la paix

Wherever the lens of the camera turns, there is but one thing people of this country talk of: PEACE !

In orice parte se întoarce lentila aparatului de fotografiat, în țara aceasta toate vorbesc despre : PACEA !

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Les enfants des héros coréens trouvent un foyer dans notre pays libre

The children of the Korean heroes have found a home in our free country

Copiii eroilor din Corea găsesc cămin în ţara noastră liberă

Une scène de la vie de l'Ecole KIM-IR-SEN de Budapest

Pictures of the life in the Kim Il Sung school in Budapest

Vederi din viaţa şcoalei KIM-IR-SEN din Budapesta

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Il n'y a aucun point du globe où l'on ne lutte pour leur heureux avenir . . .
A l'école de la rue Városmajor, pionniers coréens et hongrois apprennent côte à côte

There is no point on the globe where the fight for their common happy future is not being waged

Nu e nici un punct pe globul pământului, unde nu se duce luptă pentru viitorul lor comun, fericit . . . Pionieri Coreeni și maghiari învață împreună în școala din strada Városmajor

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Leur amitié ne connaît pas les frontières . . . Heureuses vacances de pionniers chinois, italiens et autrichiens à Budapest

Their friendship knows no frontiers . . .
A happy summer for Chinese, Italian and Austrian Young Pioneers in Budapest

Prienten a lor nu cunoaşte graniţe . . .
Vara fericită a pionierilor chinezi, italieni şi austriaci la Budapesta

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Jeunes étrangers dans l'heureux domaine des pionniers hongrois

Foreign youngsters in the happy realm of the Hungarian Young Pioneers

Tineri din străinătate în „imperiul" fericit al pionierilor

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L'exposition de paix de la République Populaire Chinoise à Budapest

The Peace Exhibition of the Chinese People's Republic, in Budapest

Expoziția de pace a Republicei Populare Chineze la Budapesta

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Pour la paix, l'indépendance des peuples, et un meilleur avenir de la jeunesse !
Le IIe Festival Mondial de la Jeunesse, à Budapest

For Peace, for the people's independence, for the happier future of Youth !
The Second Congress of the World Federation of Democratic Youth

Pentru pace, pentru independența popoarelor, pentru viitorul mai bun al tineretului ! Al doilea Congres al F. M. T. D. la Budapesta

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La jeunesse mondiale a besoin de la paix. Ce fut le sujet des délibérations du Comité exécutif de l'Union Internationale des Étudiants, au cours de sa session de Budapest

The youth of the world need peace. This was the subject of discussion of the Executive Committee of the International Union of Students at its Budapest session

Tineretul lumii are nevoie de pace. Aceasta a fost obiectul consfătuirii Comitetului Executiv al Uniunii Internationale a Studenţilor la sesiunea din Budapesta

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Le serment solennel « Nous défendrons la paix ! » . . . retentit en 70 langues au grand meeting du Festival Mondial de la Jeunesse, en 1949, à Budapest, Place des Héros

The solemn pledge : "We shall defend Peace" resounds in 70 languages. The mass meeting of the World Youth Festival, held in Budapest on "Heroes' Square," in 1949

In şaptezeci de limbi răsună jurământul solemn : „Vom apăra pacea" ! Marea adunare a Festivalului Mondial al Tineretului la Budapesta, în Piaţa Eriolor, în anul 1949

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« La cause de la Paix vaincra » — cette devise résume notre lutte et notre foi dans l'avenir

The cause we are fighting for, and our faith in the future, are summed up in this slogan: "The Cause of Peace will Triumph!"

Lupta noastră şi credinţa în viitorul nostru, sunt cuprinse în această lozincă: „Cauza păcii va învinge!"

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La cause de la paix est commune et les paroles de paix sont internationales. Les participants soviétiques, espagnols, tchèques français, hongrois et italiens du Festival Mondial de la Jeunesse s'entendent fort bien

Peace is the common cause of the peoples, the words of peace are international words. The Soviet, Spanish, Czech, French,

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Hungarian and Italian participants of the Budapest World Youth Festival understood one another perfectly

Cauza păcii este comună, cuvintele păcii sunt internaţionale. La Festivalul Mondial al Tineretului, care a avut loc la Budapesta, delegaţii sovietici, spanioli, cehi, francezi, maghiari, italieni, s'au înţeles foarte bine

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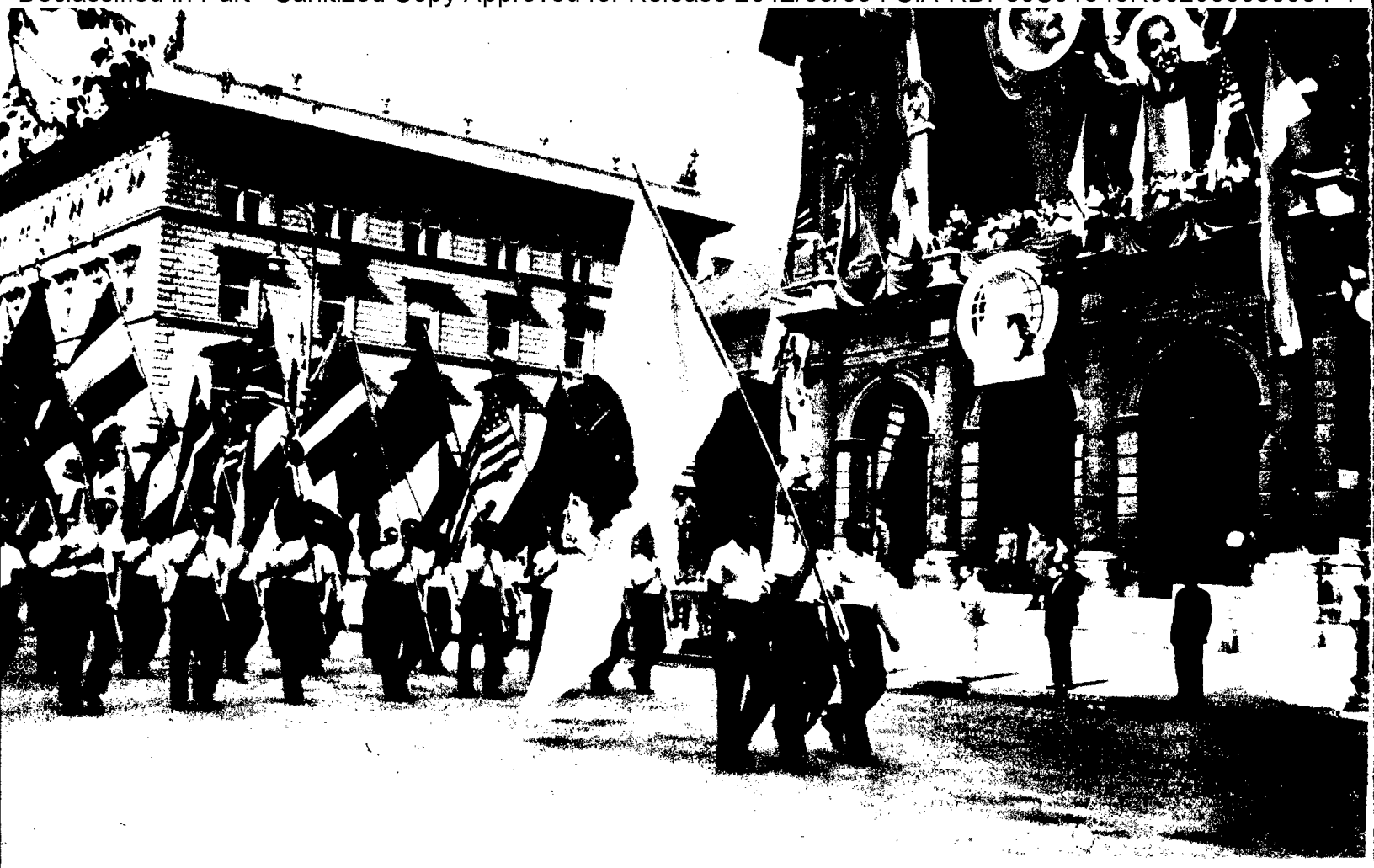

Au défilé du Festival Mondial de la Jeunesse, les drapeaux des nations proclament notre désir commun : « La paix »

The flags of the different nations, carried in the grand march of the World Youth Festival, proclaimed our common desire : Peace

La defilarea Festivalului Mondial al Tineretului, steagurile naţiunilor vestesc voinţa noastră comună : Pacea

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Le message de paix des peuples glorieux
L'Ensemble Populaire Chinois à Budapest

They brought the peace message of a splendid people
The Chinese People's Ensemble in Budapest

Au adus mesajul de pace al popoarelor măreţe. Ansamblul popular chinez la Budapesta

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Fête de l'espoir . . . L'heureuse jeunesse au IIIe Festival de la Paix, à Berlin

A festival of hope . . . Gay young people at the Third World Youth Festival in Berlin

Sărbătoarea speranței. Tineri veseli la al III. lea Festival Mondial al Tineretului dela Berlin

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Ce furent des journées inoubliables . . . Les délégués hongrois racontent leurs impressions de Berlin

Those were unforgettable days . . . Hungarian delegates reported on their Berlin experiences

Au fost zile de neuitat . . Delegatii ai RPU fac o dare de seamă despre evenimentele dela Berlin

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Il faut lutter pour la paix ! La jeunesse hongroise assume cette tâche avec enthousiasme
Une délégation de la Jeunesse salue le Congrès Hongrois de la Paix

We must fight for Peace ! ! ! Hungary's youth enthusiastically undertake this task.
The delegation of the youth welcomed the Hungarian Peace Congress

Pentru pace trebue să luptăm. Şi tineretul din RPU îşi asumă cu însufleţire această sarcină.
Delegaţia tineretului salută Congresul Ungar pentru Apărarea Păcii

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Ils écrivent les pages de l'histoire contemporaine . . .

En Hongrie, l'appel exigeant un pacte de paix entre les grandes puissances a recueilli plus de 7 millions de signatures

The pages of today's history are being written . . . More than 7 million people in Hungary signed the appeal demanding the conclusion of a Peace Pact between the Great Powers

Ei scriu paginile istoriei de astăzi. In RPU peste 7 milioane de oameni au semnat apelul prin care se cere incheierea unui pact al păcii între marile puteri

Les étudiants de l'Université politechnique . . .

The students of the University of Technology

Studentii Universității Tehnice . .

. . . et les jeunes ouvriers de la fabrique Clement Gottwald signent les pétitions de paix

and the young workers of the "Clement Gottwald" Factory sign the peace appeal Words borne out by deeds !

Tinerii muncitori dela uzinele „Clement Gottwald" semnează apelul păcii

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Ce sont les actes qui donnent du crédit aux paroles !

La brigade du charpentier stakhanoviste János Bunda a prouvé son désir de paix par son travail, à la construction de la fabrique de ciment de Helyőcsaba

While engaged in the construction of the Cement Factory at Hejőcsaba, the brigade led by János Bunda, Stakhanovite carpenter, evidenced their desire for peace with good work

Cuvintele se transformă în fapte ! La construirea fabricii de ciment din Hejőcsaba, brigada dulgherului stahanovits János Bunda, a dovedit prin muncă rodnică dorinţa sa pentru pace

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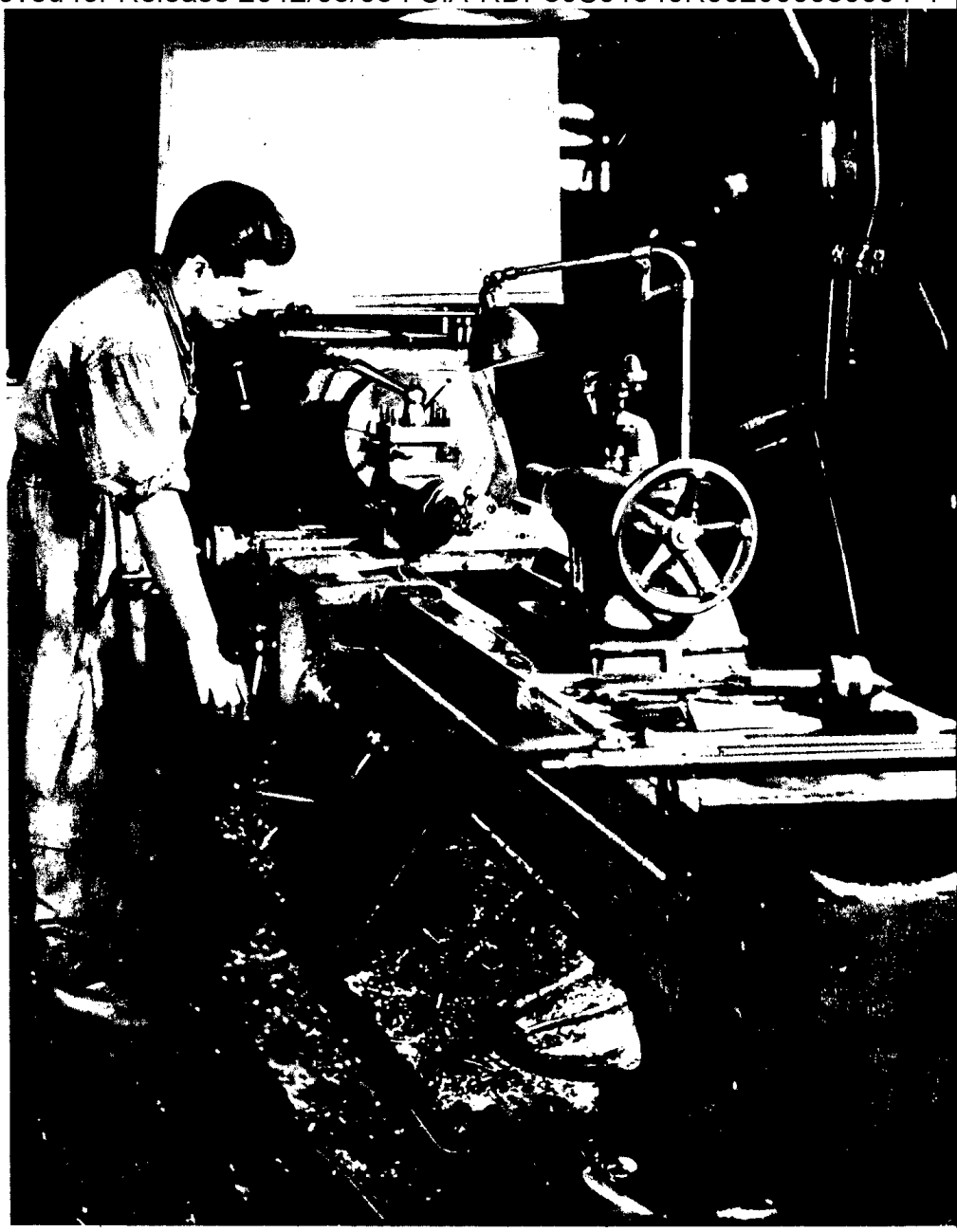
Notre lutte, c'est le travail! Lajos Porubszky, jeune tourneur de la fabrique « Wilhelm Pieck », se prépare au IVème Festival en réalisant sa norme à 700%, en l'honneur de a session de Budapest du Conseil Mondial de la Paix

Our method of fighting is work. Preparing for the Fourth World Festival of Youth and Students for Peace and Friendship, in Bucharest, and in honour of the Budapest Session of the World Peace Council, Lajos Porubszky, a young turner of the "Wilhelm Pieck" Factory, performs his work quota seven-fold

Noi luptăm prin muncă. Lajos Porubszky, tânărul strungar al fabricii „Wilhelm Pick", în cinstea sesiunii Consiliului Mondial al Păcii, din Budapesta, pregătindu-se pentru al IV-lea Festival Mondial al Tineretului, a îndeplinit 7 norme



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Ils ne veulent pas rester derrière les autres, eux non plus . . .
Ilona Holyák et István Rákász, jeunes ouvriers de la fabrique de téléphone, saluent avec un meilleur travail le Festival

They want to keep pace . . . Ilona Holyák, delegate to the Festival, and István Rákász, young workers of the Telephone Works, increase their output in honour of the Festival

Nici ei nu vreau sa rămână în urmă . . . Ilona Holyák, delegata Festivalului şi István Rákász, utemişti ai Uzinelor de Telefoane întîmpină cu o muncă mai bună Festivalul

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« Nous envoyons nous aussi nos saluts les plus chaleureux ». Les jeunes de l'Institut d'Apprentissage No. 10 confectionnent des cadeaux pour le IVème Festival

"We, too, are sending our fervent greetings," The young people of Industrial Training Institution No 10, preparing their gift for the Fourth World Festival of Youth and Students for Peace and Friendship, to be held in Bucharest

„Şi noi trimitem salutul nostru fierbinte" In institutul No 10, al Direcţiei Rezervelor de Muncă pregătesc cadouri pentru al IV-lea Festival Mondial al Tineretului

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La section de couture de la maison des pionniers d'Eger prépare également des cadeaux pour la grande rencontre de paix de la Jeunesse à Bucarest

The sewing club of the Pioneers' Home in Eger is also preparing gifts for the Festival at Bucharest

Si în cercul profesional al secţiei de cusătorie a Casei Pionierilor din Eger pregătesc cadouri pentru marele Festival pentru Pace al Tineretului, care va avea loc la Bucureşti

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Un aspect de la session de Budapest du Conseil Mondial de la Paix

Session of the World Peace Council in Budapest

Sedinţa Consiliului Mondial al Păcii, la Budapesta

La voix de la conscience de l'humanité s'est fait entendre à Budapest : « Un grand espoir est né, la Paix est là, devant nos portes. Il ne tient qu'à nous de l'atteindre

The voice of mankind's conscience spoke in Budapest : "A great hope has been born. Peace is before our gates. It is up to us to obtain it"

La Budapesta a răsunat glasul conştiinţei omenirii, „S'a născut o mare speranţă", „Pacea e în faţa porţilor noastre, depinde de noi să-o avem"

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« Si nous voulons édifier une construction durable, nous devons être courageux, généreux et pleins d'esprit de sacrifice, prêts à sympathiser les uns avec les autres et collaborer fraternellement » (Professeur Bose à la session du Conseil Mondial de la Paix)

"If we are to build a lasting structure we must be inspired with courage and magnanimity, we must be ready for sacrifice, active sympathy and fraternal co-operation." (Prof. Bose, at the session of the World Peace Council)

„Dacă vrem să ridicăm o construcție trainică, trebue să fim curajoşi, să fim gata pentru generozitate şi pentru jertfe, pentru simpatie reciprocă şi pentru colaborare frăţească". (Profesorul Bose la sesiunea Consiliului Mondial al Păcii)

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« Nous savons que vous autres travailleurs de Hongrie qui avez réussi à créer un nouvel ordre social dans votre pays, vous voulez vivre en paix avec tous les peuples, et que vous voulez récolter les fruits de votre travail créateur pacifique. (Alexis Sourkov)

"We know that you, the working people of Hungary, who were successful in establishing a new social order, wish to live in peace with all the peoples, and want to reap the fruits of your peaceful creative work undisturbed." (Alexei Shurkov)

„Noi ştim că D-voastră, oamenii muncii ai Ungariei, care aţi creat cu succes noua orânduire socială în această ţară, vreţi să vă bucuraţi în linişte de roadele muncii voastre creatoare." (Alexei Surcov)

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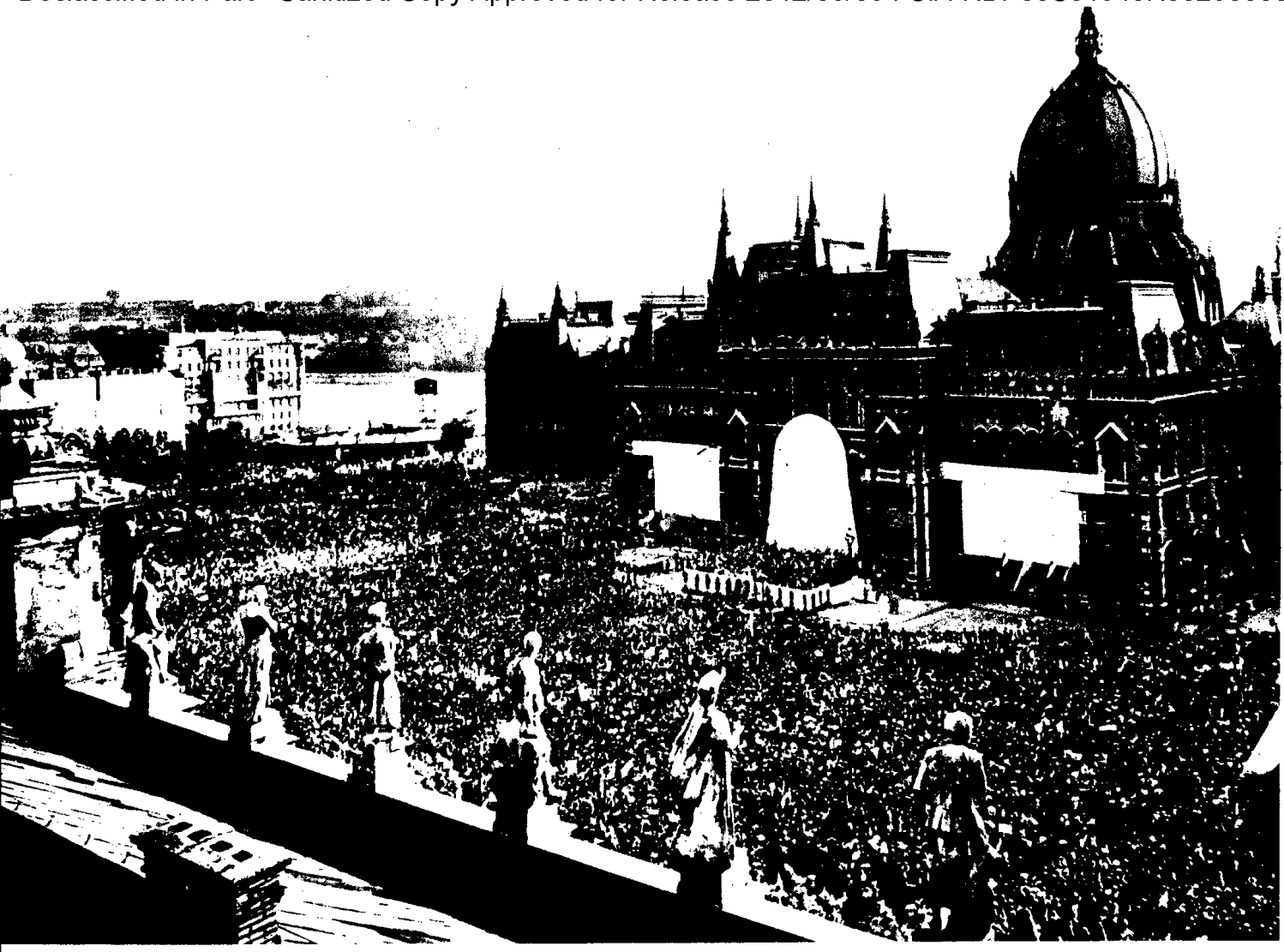

Homme, défends ta paix, aime la vie et défends la !

Man ! Defend your peace, love and defend your life !

Apără-ţi pacea omule, iubeşte-ţi şi apără-ti viaţa !

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Budapest, ville magnifique de la liberté et de la paix, coeur du pays, prête à tous les sacrifices pour la paix

The heart of a people's country which is ready to sacrifice everything for the cause of peace, the beautiful city of freedom and peace, Budapest

Budapesta, inima ţării a poporului care e gata de orice jertfă pentru pace, e un minunat oraş al libertăţii şi al păcii

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CHINESE YOUTH ENJOYS A HAPPY LIFE

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FOREWORD

The past three years have brought tremendous changes to the lives of the Chinese people.

Such changes, first of all, are the fruits of the victory in the long-drawn-out struggle which the Chinese people, led by the Communist Party of China and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, had to wage against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism. These changes have been brought by the restoration and expansion of the country's industrial and agricultural production, achieved under the guidance of a government that belongs to the people and works for the people.

To China's youth, as well as to the people as a whole, such changes open up a completely new world of political and democratic rights, rising living standards, higher wages for young workers, growing income for peasant youth, more schools for students, a better life for young people among the national minorities.

Through the continuing improvement in the financial and economic situation which enables China to launch her first Five-Year Plan, an even brighter tomorrow beckons to China's young people.

This pamphlet is intended to give the reader a glimpse of the happy life which young people are leading in China today. It is also to show their efforts to prepare a still better future, to show their unity and solidarity with youth in foreign lands, in the name of peace—for China and the world!

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Labour heroes of nation-wide fame were invited to attend the third session of the First National Committee of the People's Political Consultative Conference held in October 1951. Picture shows Chairman Mao Tse-tung talking with Kuo Shu-teh (middle), then head driver of the "Mao Tse-tung" Locomotive, and another model worker during the recess of the session

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CHINA'S YOUNG WORKERS NOW LEAD NEW LIVES

Two Societies—Two Worlds

Today, when you see the happy life the workers of new China are leading, and the elation with which they are building an even better future, it is perhaps difficult to believe that, up till a little over three years ago, theirs was a miserable lot. They toiled year in and year out then, but never had enough to eat or wear; they were haunted by unemployment and had always to worry about the next meal. Abuses and beatings were common, and civil liberties unknown.

But in new China, workers are the leading class in society. They are represented in the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, in the people's representative conferences of all levels and in all local people's governments. Many workers have been promoted to leading positions in factories and mines.

The workers have their own organizations—the trade unions. In state-owned industrial or mining enterprises, workers take part in the factory administrative committees which have authority over all matters of production and management. These committees are composed of equal numbers of representatives of the management and of the workers, giving the latter full voice in running the enterprise in questions like production planning, business transactions, administration, appointment and dismissal of personnel, wages and amenities, etc. In private enterprises, workers' representatives sit on the labour-capital consultative councils which settle disputes and make suggestions or improvements in production.

The Democratic Reform Movement, carried out in all industrial enterprises, helped consolidate the leading role which the workers are now playing. During this movement, the gangsters and bullies who, under the Kuomintang, had terrorized the workers' ranks, were exposed

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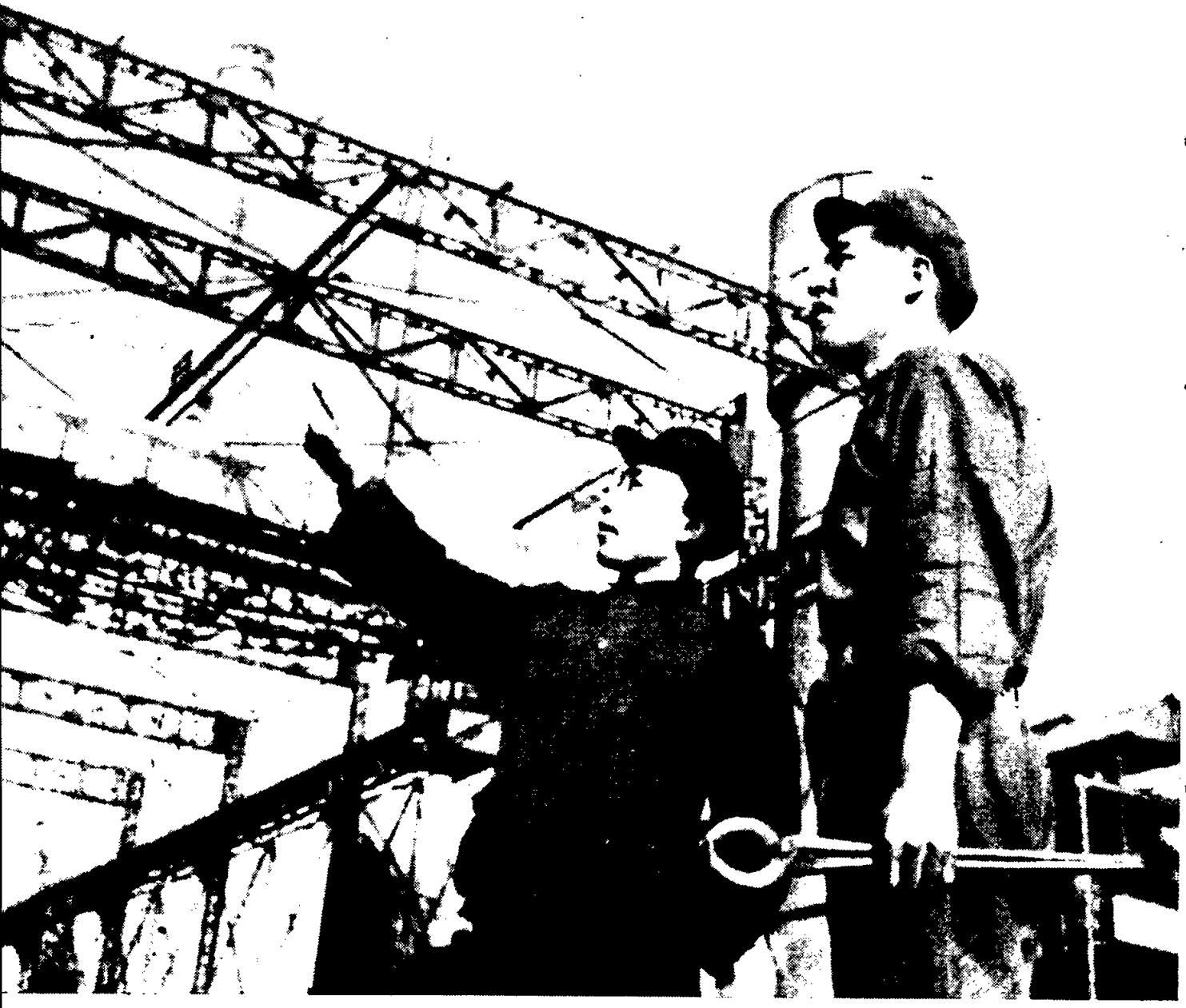

In New China, many workers have been promoted to managerial posts. Model worker Pan Chang-yu (left), formerly foreman of a smelting team, is now Vice-Chairman of the Tientsin Trade Union Council. He is also member of the World Peace Council

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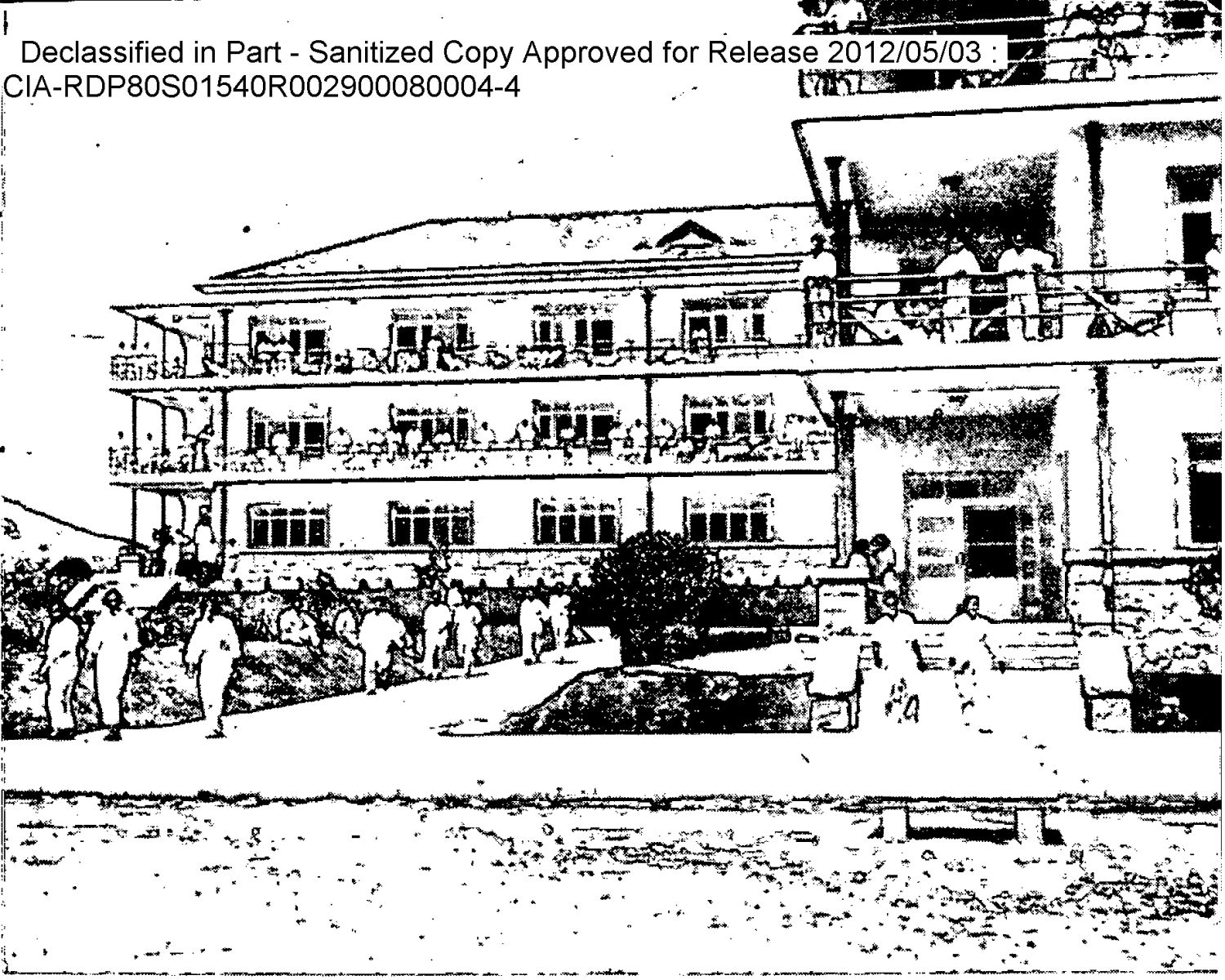

Sanatorium for textile workers at Tsingtao, the famous health resort

and removed. With them went all unfair and insulting practices, like unequal pay for equal work, searching of workers after their shift, etc.

Improved Working Conditions

In February 1951, the Central People's Government promulgated the Labour Insurance Regulations which came into force on May 1 of the same year. The Regulations has paved the way to a final solution of problems that used to cause workers the greatest anxiety, i.e., maternity, sickness, old age, injury, disablement or death. The Regulations provides that "the management or owner of enterprises shall pay to the Labour Insurance Fund each month a sum equal to three per cent of the total payroll of all workers and staff members in the enterprise concerned;" in the case of sickness or injury incurred on the job, the costs of treatment,

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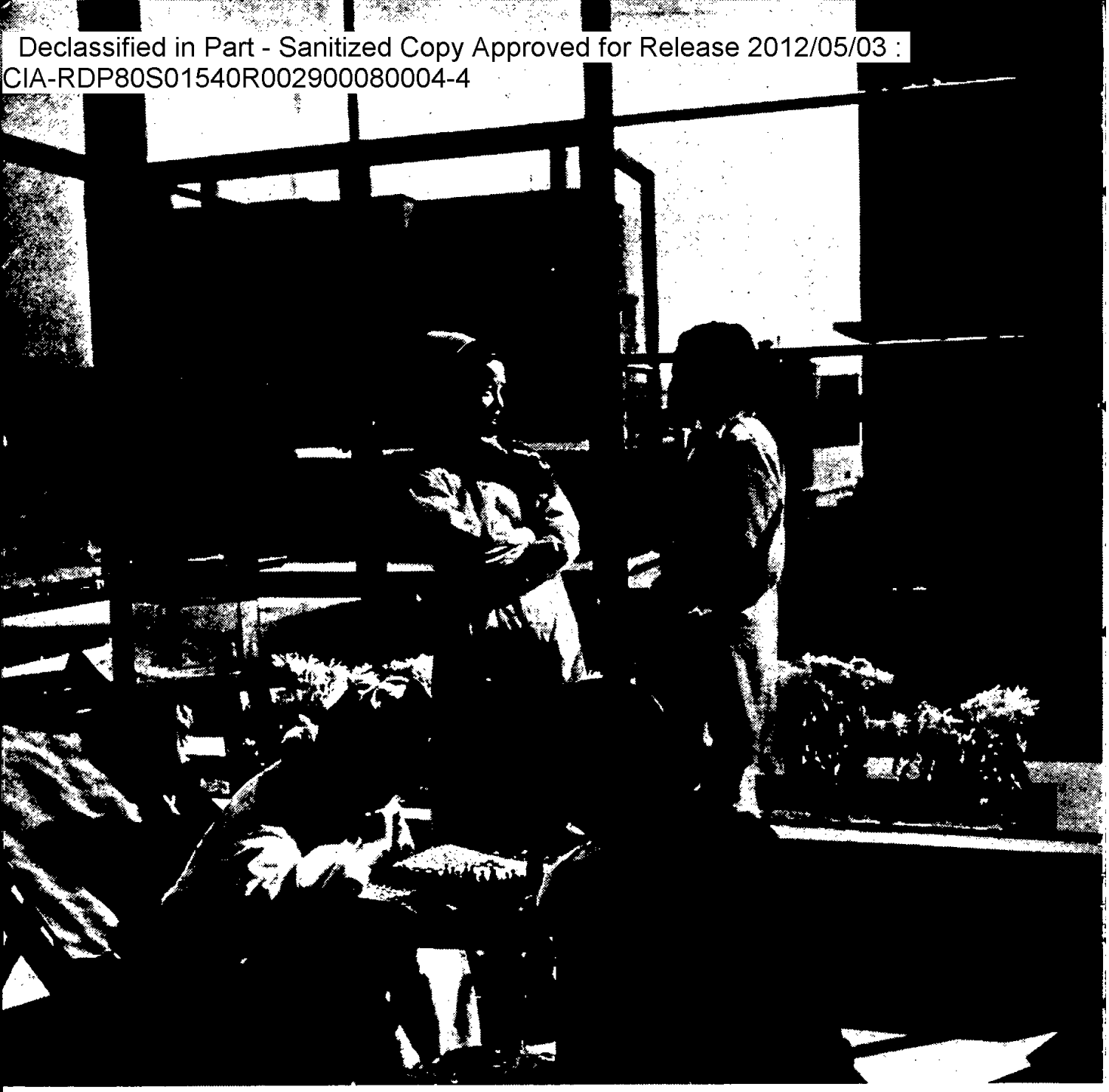

Patients enjoying the sunlight in a modern workers' hospital at Tientsin

medicines, hospital fees and travelling expenses involved, are borne by the management or owners of the enterprise. When a lineal dependent of a worker or staff member falls ill, he or she receives free treatment of a clinic or hospital, and the worker pays only 50 per cent of the cost of medicines for his or her dependent. Workers and staff members receive old-age benefits on reaching the age of 45, 55 or 60 years, depending upon working conditions and whether these are detrimental to the workers'

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This young mother leaves her baby at the creche before going to work in a textile mill

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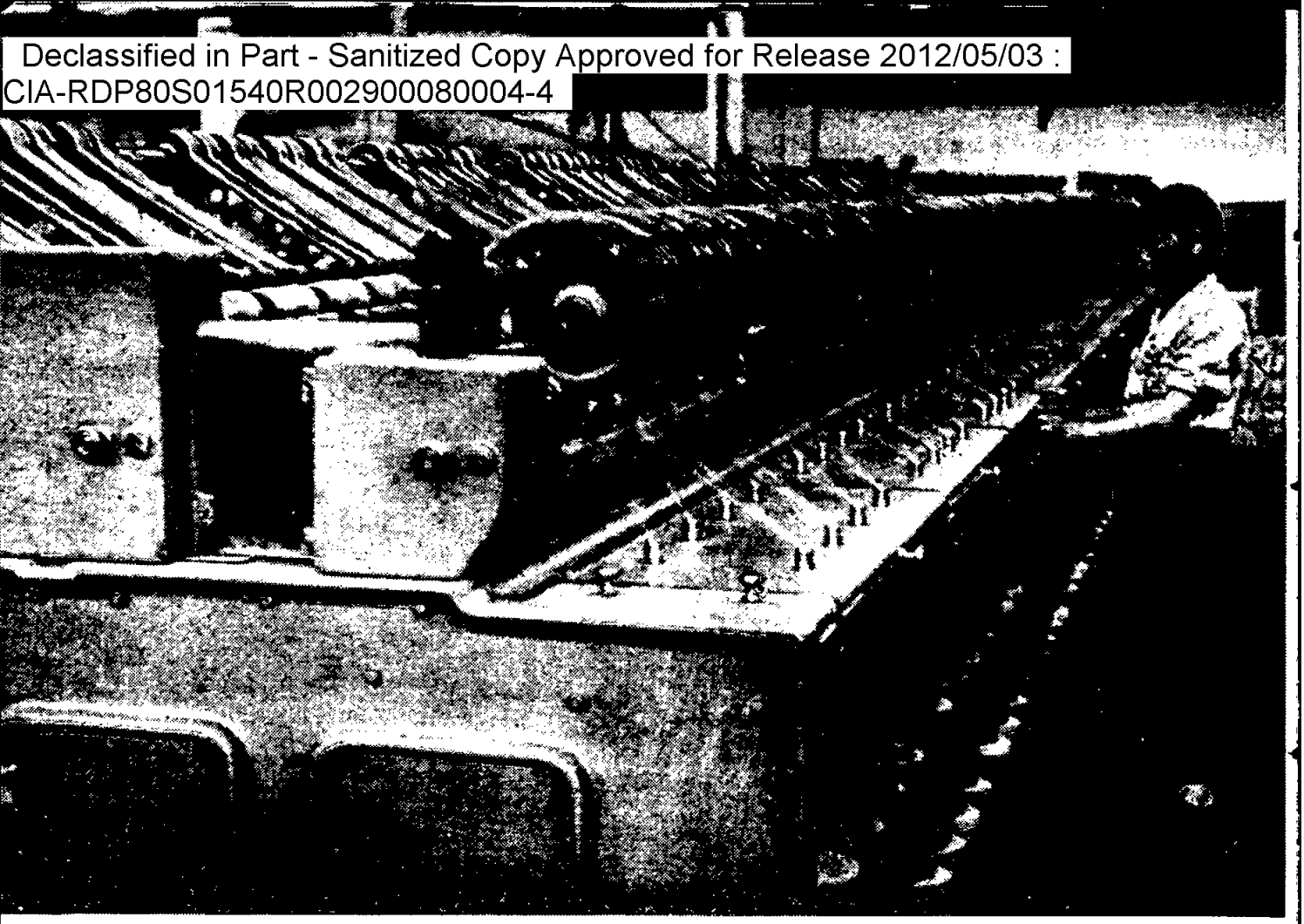

This modern, automatized loom in the newly-built Harbin Flax Mill is equipped with the most up-to-date safety devices

health. Old-age pensions amounting to 35 to 60 per cent of the wages formerly earned by the worker, are paid until his (or her) death.

The Regulations gives special consideration to old-age and maternity care for women workers. A woman worker works fewer years and qualifies for an old-age pension at an earlier age than a male worker. Pregnant women workers receive 56 days of paid maternity leave. Up to the present, 1,600 factory nurseries have been established, and special rooms set aside in all large factories for working mothers to breast-feed their babies.

Up to the end of November 1952, 3,202,147 workers and staff members had benefitted from labour insurance; if their lineal dependents are included, the total number is over ten million. At the same time, 51 sanatoria, 35 rest homes, 14 homes for the aged and disabled, and 136 over night-sanatoria have been established in various parts of the country for workers and staff members. The majority of these sanatoria and rest homes are located in well-known resorts and scenic spots.

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In January 1953, the Government Administration Council amended the Labour Insurance Regulations, raising the benefits and extending the scope of labour insurance to greater numbers of workers.

The workers' safety and health receive constant attention. The principle of "safety first" provides safety devices and installations for sanitation and hygiene in all industrial enterprises.

The improvements in such measures achieved in coal mines stand out conspicuously. Gas leakages are now effectively prevented. Safety devices have been installed on loading and hauling equipment. Ventilation systems have been installed in seventy-seven per cent of all active mine shafts. All these have contributed to a decrease in the death rate in China's coal mines by 75 per cent, while injuries dropped 65 per cent, in the first half of 1951, as compared to 1950. Not a single mine explosion took place during 1951.

Violet-ray treatment after each shift keeps the miners in good health

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Rising Living Standards

In new China, one of the most important guarantees for the workers' livelihood is full opportunity to work. In pre-liberation days the workers suffered from chronic unemployment. This was particularly true in the years of the People's Liberation War (1946—1949) when, as a result of the wanton destruction under the Kuomintang, the annual output of China's heavy industry fell 70 per cent, that of light industry 30 per cent, as compared with pre-war peak levels. As a result, the unemployed and semi-unemployed grew to unheard-of numbers. But, since the founding of the People's Republic of China, industry has been rehabilitated and developed at an amazing speed, and a large number of formerly unemployed workers have again found work. Today, the level of employment is the highest in China's history.

In the wake of this industrial restoration and expansion have come remarkable increases in real wages. In Northeast China, the average wages of workers and staff members increased 27 per cent in 1949; 12.5 per cent in 1950; and about 15 per cent in 1951. In 1952, workers' wages rose in the whole country between 60-120 per cent over those of 1949. It must also be noted that workers in the new China are paid according to their work, irrespective of age or sex.

Workers' real wages have further increased through reduction in commodity prices. One price cut occurred in the period from August to October 1951. Another took place from March to April 1952, when the retail prices of manufactured goods were reduced throughout the country by 2-40 per cent, with the average reduction amounting to 8 per cent. This price reduction meant a 5 per cent increase for the workers in their real wages.

To illustrate the living standards of the Chinese workers, take Wang Ling-hau, a 24-year old steel worker in the Anshan Steel and Iron Plant in Northeast China. Before liberation, life was simply a long chain of sufferings for Wang Ling-hau, who for some time had to support his family by picking up bits of coal and selling them for a few coins. These grim days, however, ended with the emancipation of his plant. The constant rise of his wages has made his life better and better. The present situation of Wang Ling-hau may be seen from his balance sheet for December, 1952, given in Chinese currency (one wage unit calculated at 2,100 yuan).

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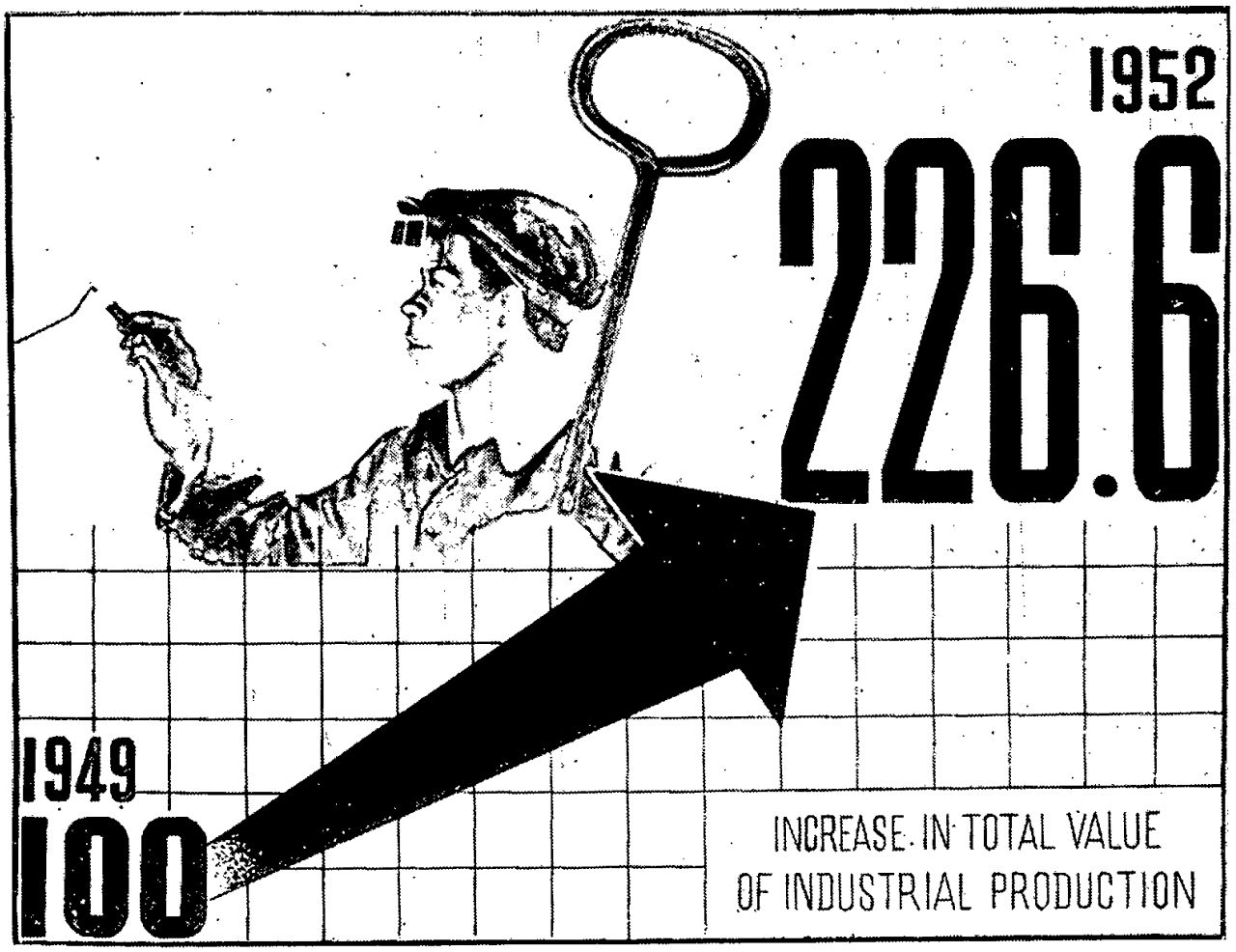
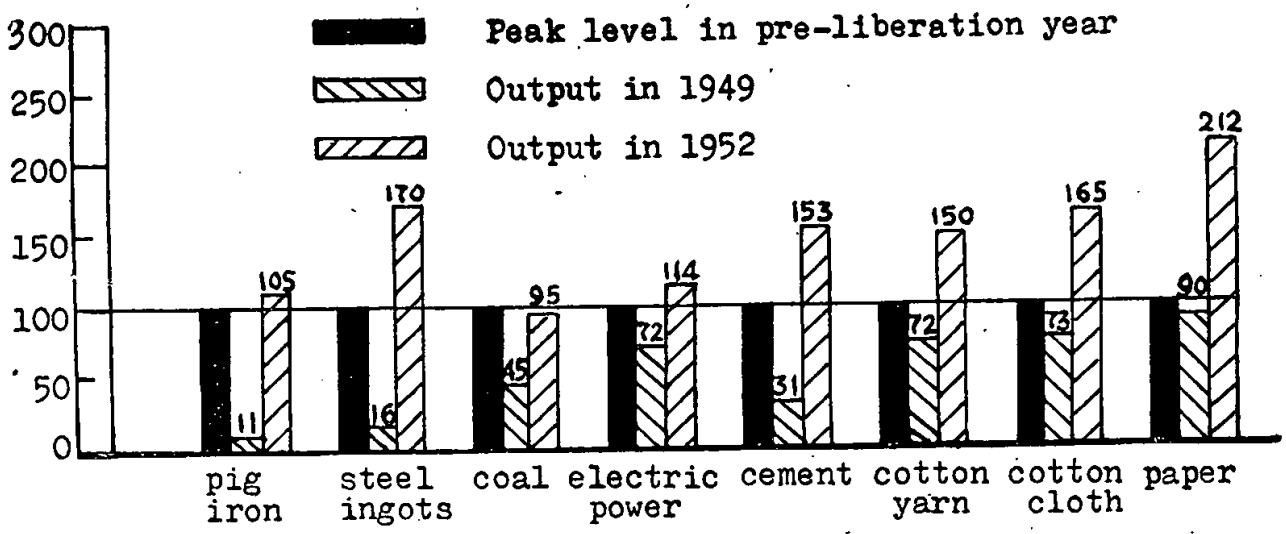


(The above figure of 226.6 is the estimate published in the September 30, 1952 issue of the Chinese Youth Paper.)



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Money Income	Yuan
Wage (501 units)	1,052,100
Bonus (70 units)	147,000
	1,199,100

Expenditure	
Trade Unions Dues	10,000
Food (3 persons)	350,000
Fuel	30,000
Newspaper	5,000
Electricity & Running Water	5,000
Miscellaneous (including toys for his child)	70,000
	470,000

In other words, after paying all his regular expenses, Wang had a balance of 729,100 yuan, the greater part of which he put into his bank. When he needs anything particular, he dips into his savings. For instance, during the latter half of 1952, he bought, among other things, six suits of new clothes for himself, his wife and his child, and a new bicycle.

Actually, Wang's expense account shows only a part of his real income. Everyone who reads through it will note the striking absence of one item—rent. The reason is that living in quarters provided by the plant, Wang does not have to pay any rent.

Besides, the benefits accruing from the Labour Insurance Regulations must also be taken into account.

New Quarters For Workers

Since 1951, large-scale construction of workers' living quarters has been going on in the major cities of China.

In Shanghai, for example, plans then called for building quarters for 21,000 families. Of these, 1,000 families have already been provided with living space. Construction of the rest of this project began in August 1952 and is scheduled to be completed by May this year. These new quarters are being built in suburban areas and will cover a total of 267 hectares, necessitating a total of 145 kilometres of road-building.

Off they are for a weekend excursion—girls working at a hemp mill are trying out their new bicycles

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Workers' living quarters at the Chinchow Textile Plant in Northeast China

In Peking, Tientsin, Shenyang (Mukden), Wuchang, Hankow and other cities too, tens of thousands of workers' homes are under construction, and some are already completed.

The new tenants are very pleased with their new dwellings. The newly-built workers' quarters in Shanghai, called Tsaoyang Villas for instance, cover an area of some 13 hectares on the city's western outskirts. The project comprises a cooperative store, a clinic and a primary school; a market and a club. The place around the Villas has been beautifully laid out with streams and small bridges. Pavements are tree-lined; there are flower-beds and spacious lawns all around. The Shanghai Municipal People's Government has established a new bus route to connect the housing project with all parts of the city.

What a striking contrast this project provides with the appalling conditions in Kuomintang days, when so many workers had no place to live at all! Now China's workers cannot admire their new cozy homes

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This young couple have moved recently into a new apartment in the - Tsaoyang Villas

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enough. Many young couples have moved into these new quarters to start a happy, new life, such as they had never dreamed of before.

Youth in Patriotic Emulation Drives

As a result of their higher political and economic status, the workers' outlook on labour is completely changed. This change manifests itself mainly in patriotic emulation drives which have developed into a mass movement. In the first half of 1952, over 80 per cent of the workers throughout the country joined such patriotic emulation drives. In these campaigns, the workers have not only demonstrated their great enthusiasm for work now that its fruits are their own; they have also

Cheng Hsi-kun, young loco-driver who initiated the extra-haulage campaign

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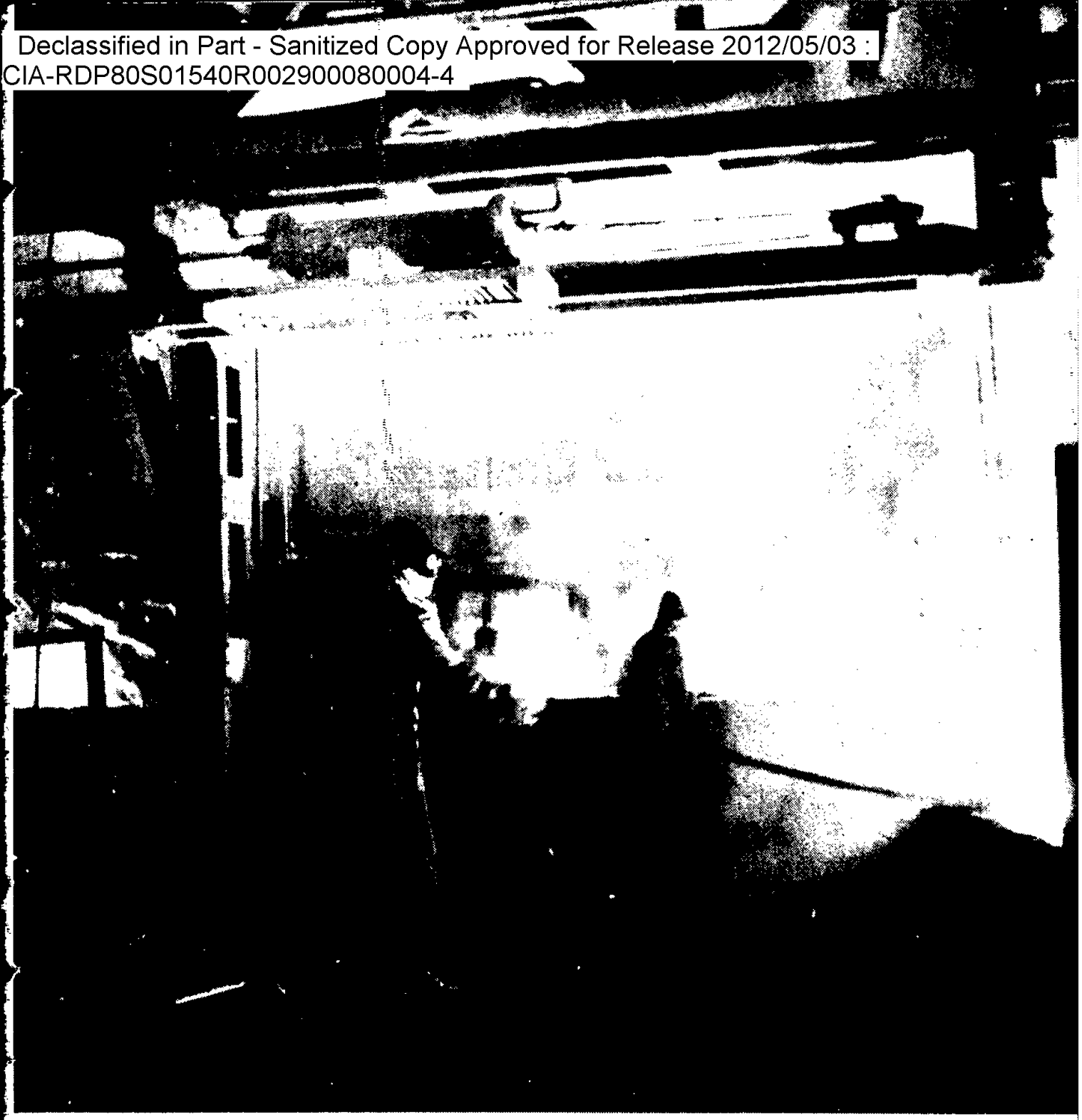

A blast furnace of the Anshan Steel and Iron Plant, led by young worker Liu Cheng, has always overfulfilled its production targets

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Owing to the adoption of the advanced Soviet experience and the workers' labour enthusiasm, the new Fuhsin Open-face Mine will turn out coal in large quantities this year. This is a lump cut out from the first seam

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creatively taken the initiative in solving many problems in order to improve production processes and to lighten manual labour. They have put forward altogether 400,000 rationalisation proposals, of which more than 240,000 have been adopted, often on a big scale. Thanks to the workers' growing enthusiasm for labour, their initiative and creative abilities, labour productivity has risen greatly. In coal mining, for example, labour productivity is now 88 per cent higher than before the liberation. In Northeast China, a 142 per cent increase has been registered in workers' productivity.

Ho Chien-hsiu

Young workers play an especially active role in these patriotic emulation drives. The names of many such young work enthusiasts are household words throughout the country.

Young model worker Cheng Hsi-kun, chief of a locomotive crew in Northeast China, is known as one of the sponsors of the drive to have locomotives pull more railroad cars than was the practice. With the new method adopted throughout the country, locomotive crews have effected tremendous savings for the nation. Cheng Hsi-kun and his crew alone saved 265 million yuan in the course of the 2 years ending June 1951. Their first record in such extra-haulage was 4,174 tons; they bettered it to 8,000 tons and finally to 10,000 tons. On the basis of Cheng Hsi-kun's experience and that of many other advanced railway workers, the Ministry of Railways called on railway men throughout the country to start a campaign of loading freight cars fully, have the locomotive pull more

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Chen Yu-hua

cars and run at least 500 kilometres per day. At present, railway workers throughout the country are active in this campaign and have achieved tremendous successes. For example, in May 1952, a youth locomotive crew in Shanghai created a new record by completing a daily 1,306.8 kilometre run. In the same month, the total extra-haulage in the country reached 549 million kilometre-tons, i.e., double the figure hauled in March.

The famous girl spinner Ho Chien-hsiu reduced roller waste to 0.25 per cent. It is estimated that her new working method, if applied throughout the country, can save 44,460 bales of yarn within a year. Ho Chien-hsiu's working method is now being adopted in all the textile mills of China, and her record has already been overtaken by many other spinners.

Twenty-five-year-old Youth League member Liu Li-fu is a brigade leader in a dockyard workshop in Dairen. Under his initiative, his brigade put forward 52 rationalisation proposals and created 18 new records in 1951 alone. Thirteen of these new records resulted in the saving of 5,000 work-hours during eight months. Liu Li-fu's brigade always

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overfulfills production targets. In April 1951, it was already doing its norm for September of the same year. By the end of 1952, it had finished the tasks originally scheduled for the 3rd quarter of 1956! However, Liu's brigade maintains a standard of quality as remarkably high as that of the quantity of its output. Since December 1950, its output has therefore been exempted from the usual inspection. Nevertheless, the brigade has not turned out a single defective item. For this outstanding work, the Liu Li-fu brigade has been nominated three times "advanced brigade of Port Arthur and Dairen."

Another fine example is Chen Yu-hua, a pneumatic driller of the Huainan Colliery, who has made a name for himself by smashing one record after another. Out of the seventeen new records created in the very close emulation drive in the colliery from December 1950 to February 1951, twelve were Chen's. Later his national record was beaten. In

Workers study at a spare-time school

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A technical school for young people at Dairen

May 1952, however, Chen won the red banner back with another national record, by drilling 291.6 tons of coal in 5 hours and 47 minutes.

Full Opportunities to Study

Before the liberation, Chinese workers had little right or opportunity of education. In those days, 60 to 80 per cent of the workers were illiterate. After the liberation, the People's Government laid special emphasis on raising the workers' political, cultural, and technical level. In June 1950, the People's Government issued "Instructions for Developing Spare-time Education of Workers and Administrative Staff" aimed at teaching all illiterate workers at least 1,000 characters (ideographs) within three to five years so that they could read simply-written books and newspapers. The Trade Union Law stipulates that the managements or owners of all enterprises allocate regularly a certain sum for the education of workers and staff members. Thus, the workers are now assured the right to education. At present there are 3,020,000 workers studying in 8,900 spare-time schools specially set up for them throughout

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Under the instruction of a skilled worker, this girl lathe-operator mastered in three months the technique which formerly required one year's training

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the country. Beginning from 1952, the plans of many district and national trade unions call for the eradication of illiteracy among their workers and staff members within two to four years. In Port Arthur and Dairen, Northeast China, illiteracy is practically wiped out. The "quick method of learning Chinese characters", evolved by cultural instructor Chi Chien-hua of the People's Liberation Army, is a great help in accelerating the elimination of illiteracy among workers and people in all walks of life throughout China.

Many short-term middle schools have been established everywhere in the country to train large numbers of intellectuals of worker and peasant origin. Workers of higher intellectual level are sent to the Chinese People's University or similar institutions for advanced studies during which they receive 60 to 75 per cent of their original wages.

Young workers are avid for the technical study the old society denied them. In former days, apprentices did not learn anything but ran errands for their masters and received nothing but blows and curses as their reward. Today, master and apprentice have a common goal in national development and construction, and are therefore getting along quite differently. Very often they conclude "master-apprentice contracts", under which the apprentice pledges to study technique very hard under the master who, in turn, pledges to teach his apprentices well as a contribution to the patriotic emulation drive. In this way, apprentices can become skilled workers in a very short time.

All larger enterprises have set up regular spare-time technical classes, conducted by special teachers, for workers and staff members.

In addition, many regular technical schools for workers have been established all over the country where technique and scientific knowledge are taught still more systematically.

Recreation

Recreation, the privilege of the few in the past, is now an integral part of a worker's life, especially for young workers. After work, workers can go to their own clubs to play chess, card-games or ping-pong; they form glee-clubs, dance groups, or rehearse stage plays. They read or write in the club library. Many factories show films or hold dances regularly on weekends to enliven their workers' recreation.

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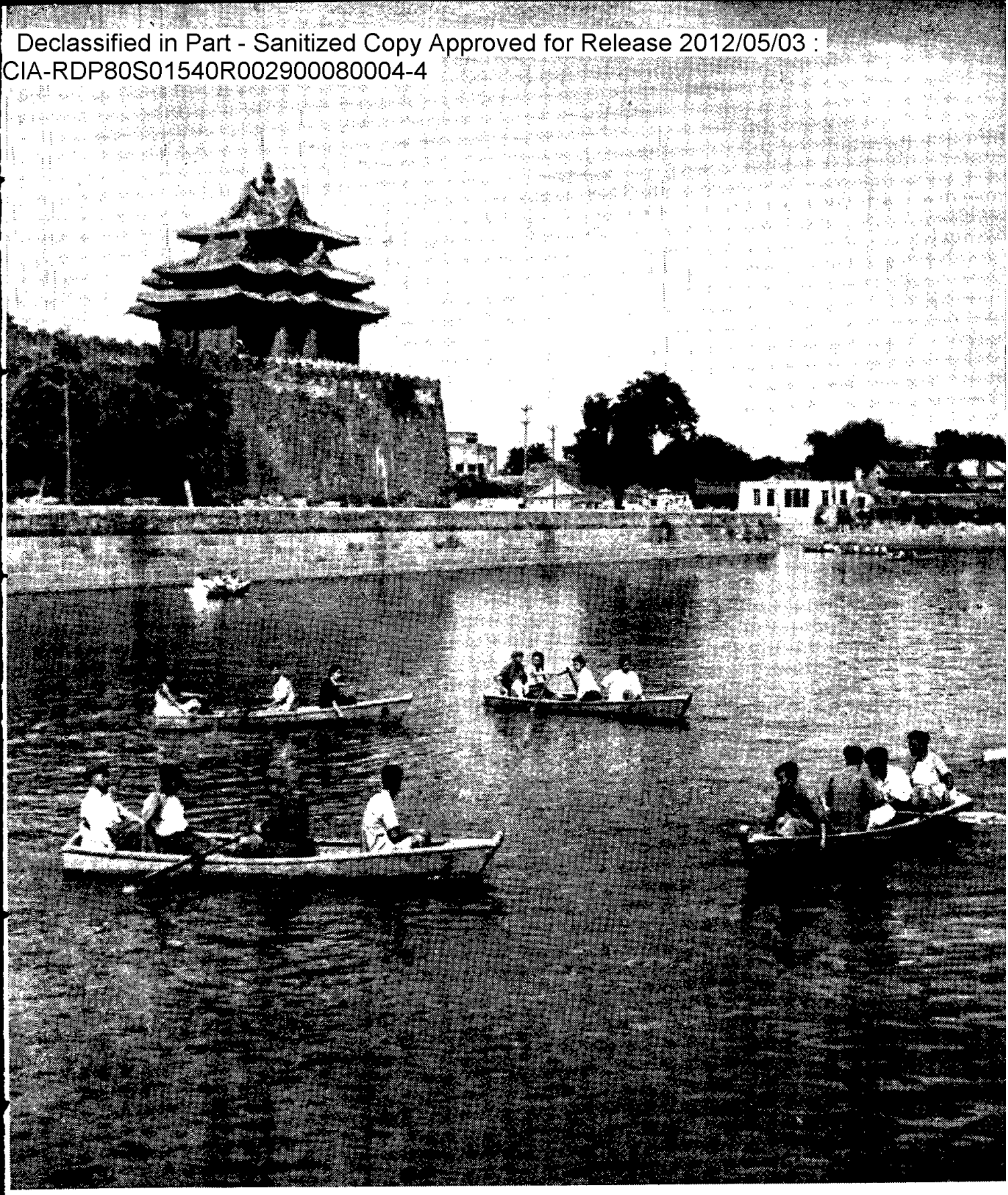

Boating on the moat of the former Imperial Palace, now part of the Working People's Palace of Culture in Peking

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In the park around the Palace of Culture in Peking

Cultural Palaces are resorts for workers on holidays. These Palaces are mostly the former pleasure grounds of feudal rulers, bureaucratic capitalists or foreign imperialists. The magnificent Working People's Palace of Culture in Peking, for example, was formerly part of the Manchu emperors' "Forbidden City". Today, these premises afford many recreational and cultural facilities, while the tree-shaded park has plenty of space for folk-dancing and singing groups. There is a library, a big recreation hall; you can go boating on the moat of the imperial palace; in winter, this turns into a skating rink. A hall is set aside for exhibitions; a movie projection team shows films regularly; and the lovely, open-air theatre seats 1,500 people. Workers see plays staged here or put on their own performances. The Amateurs' Art School also has a workers' section at the Palace, where well-known writers,

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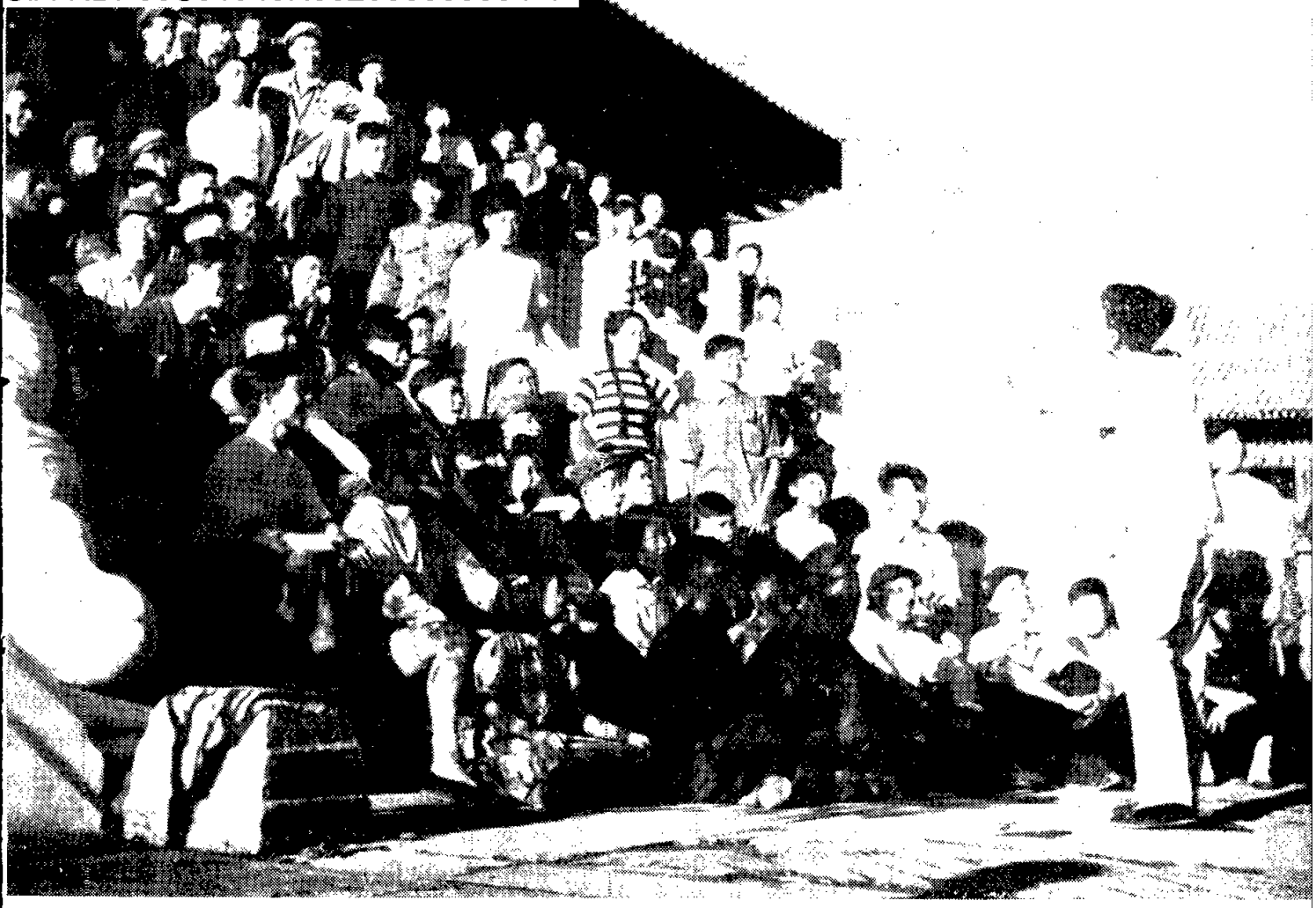

A choir organized by the Palace of Culture

dramatists, musicians, painters and dancers impart the knowledge of their art. More than 600 worker-students are learning to write dramas which often are staged here as well. Some of the amateur writers show great promise in their literary productions, and are sent to the Central Literary Institute; while promising actors are sent to the Central Cinema School for advanced courses. From this amateur school, many workers have graduated to become correspondents for newspapers and magazines.

For the first time in China's history, workers have ample opportunity to take part in athletic activities. There are nearly 10,000 athletic teams organized by workers throughout the country. In Shenyang (Mukden), for example, the 30 workers' basketball teams of 1949 had, by 1951, grown to 824. The railway workers organized their own national athletic association in 1952, and 380,000 of them took part in one or more sports during last year.

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An automatized workshop under construction at Anshan.

Among China's outstanding athletes we now find many workers. For instance, workers and peasants took first, second, third and fourth places in a 10,000-metre race in the provincial track meet of Chekiang province in 1951; the Central-South Region Volley-ball Team, which took the first place in the national tournament in 1951, consists mainly of workers and peasants.

Sports are a source of joy and well-being for the workers. Improving their health and refreshing their spirit, they also give impetus to the peaceful endeavours of China's builders.

This Is Only the Beginning

It may be seen from the above that, in the short period of two or three years, the Chinese workers, led by the Communist Party of China,

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Northeast China, one of the many large projects started this year

have made tremendous achievements on the production front and at the same time improved their own life. But this is only the first step toward a brighter future.

This year, China is beginning her first Five-Year Plan, which paves the way for her industrialisation. The Chinese working youth, who constitute an important element of the huge labour force in China, are bending every effort to master technique and draw on the advanced Soviet experiences. They are taking an increasingly active part in the nation-wide campaign to increase production and practise economy, so as to accumulate more wealth for the country and at the same time raise their own living standards.

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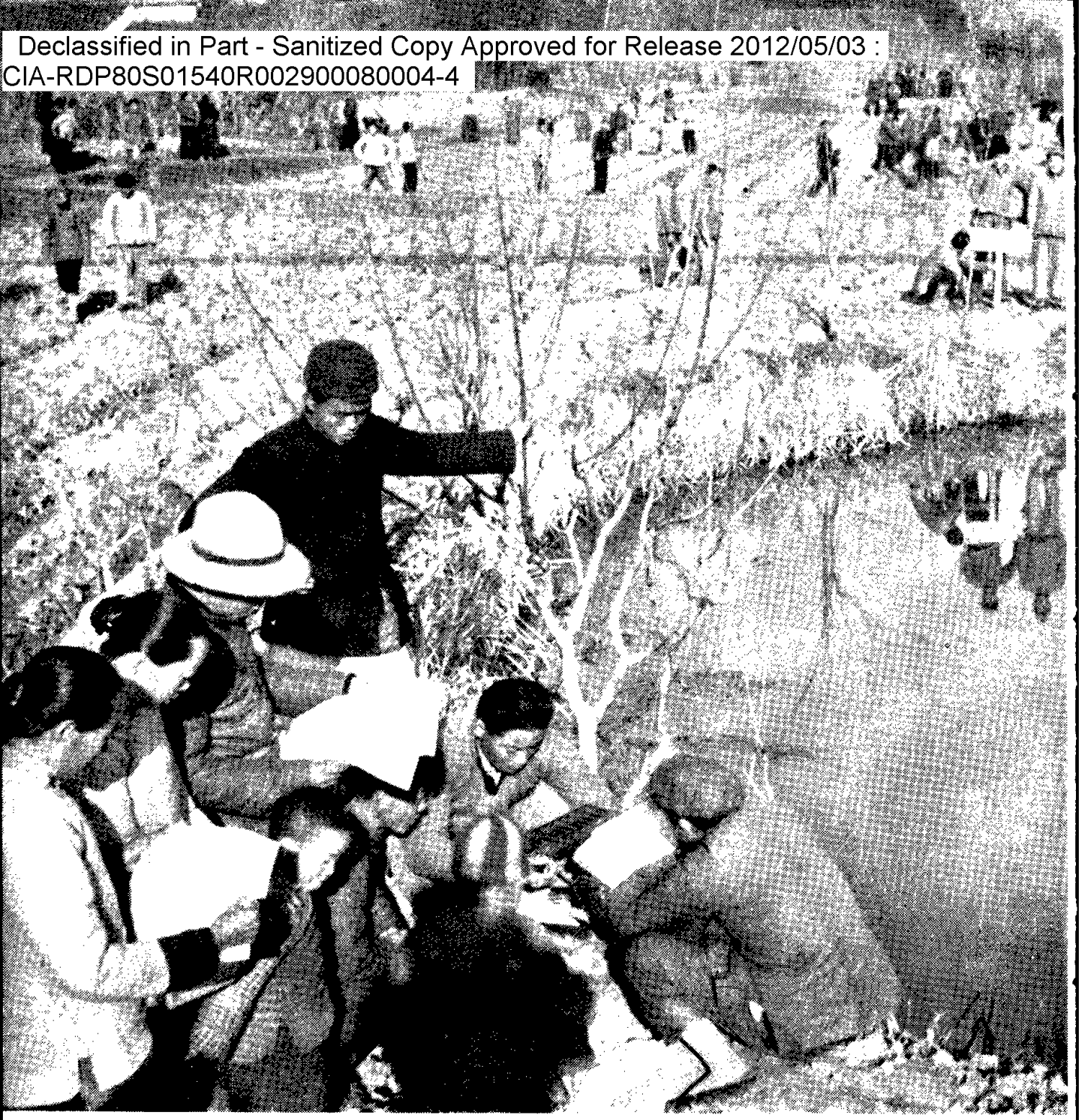

Land reform has been carried out over an area with a total population of 450 million. Picture shows the new landowners staking out the lots of land they are to receive

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YOUTH IN THE CHANGING VILLAGES

If you have ever seen the Chinese countryside before liberation and heard the tragic stories of Chinese peasants, then the radical changes that have since taken place will astound you on a visit today. These changes can be seen in the thriving villages, in the peasants themselves whose looks show that they are on the way to prosperity, in their new confidence in life and its promise, and in the ineffable love and gratitude they bear for Chairman Mao, the Communist Party and the People's Government.

All these changes have been brought about by the great land reform movement, through which millions of tillers, led by the working class, have won back their land and other means of production, instead of eking out a miserable living at the mercy of the landlords. Now they are tilling their own land happily in order to make life still more prosperous.

The Road from Poverty to Prosperity

The land reform awakened peasants to the fact that farming scattered, individual plots of land was fettering the expansion of production. Therefore, with the help of the People's Government, increasing numbers of peasants have voluntarily organised mutual-aid teams, whose members still maintain the individual ownership of their land, but work it collectively to the benefit of one and all.

To date, there are three principal types of mutual-aid organisations in existence: the temporary, or seasonal, small-scale mutual-aid team; the regular year-round mutual-aid team; and the agricultural producers' cooperative, the last being the highest form in which both land and labour are pooled.

As the peasants had long been accustomed to farming scattered, individual strips of land, it naturally took some time before they came to realise the advantages of collective farming. But young peasants, particularly members of the New Democratic Youth League who can most

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An agricultural producers' cooperative of Tahming County, Hunan Province, is reaping a bumper harvest

easily assimilate new ideas, have set the pace for the mutual-aid and cooperative movement, often being the first ones to join. These young people also take the initiative to explain patiently to others the significance of collective labour for an increase in agricultural production.

Actual facts too, have convinced many peasants that organised farming brings bigger harvests and incomes, and is therefore the only path to bring them from poverty to prosperity. As a result, mutual-aid and cooperative organisations have mushroomed in rural areas. At present, over forty per cent of China's peasantry are organised in 6,000,000 mutual-aid teams, and more than 4,000 agricultural producers' cooperatives are in existence.

Patriotic Bumper-Harvest Campaign

For their own benefit, as well as for the benefit of the nation, the masses of China's peasants have launched a nation-wide patriotic emulation campaign for increased production. This campaign has produced countless model peasants who, in groups or individually, have reached remarkable results.

Tsui Yu-hsia proudly wears the medals her exceptional work has won her

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Model peasants studying advanced farming techniques at a State farm

Tsui Yu-hsia, 20-year-old girl and Youth League member of Suining county in northern Kiangsu province, is one of those who have gained nation-wide fame through their record crops. In 1951, her team brought in a wheat crop of 336 catties* per *mou*† on arid land, about 100 catties more than the record crops in the locality. In 1952, accepting the challenge of other teams, Tsui Yu-hsia's increased its general output to 343.8 catties (or fifty per cent over that of local peasants), and even to 527.5 catties on a few *mou* of land. For these outstanding achievements Tsui Yu-hsia's team was commended twice by the Ministry of Agriculture. Through her influence, the villagers started a "Tsui Yu-hsia Mutual-Aid Movement," in the course of which the number of peasants organised for collective farming rose from ten to sixty per cent.

Yang Ching-kuei of Peisui county in Kiangsu Province is another young model peasant famous for his bumper harvest. By using high quality seed and improved farming techniques, his team scored a record

* One catty is equivalent to about half a kilogram.

† One *mou* is equivalent to about one-sixth acre.

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harvest of 6,339 catties of potatoes per *mou*, or three and a-half times the local record. Yang Ching-kuei himself managed to harvest 7,476 catties per *mou* on his own land. His team has received commendations from the Ministry of Agriculture.

For the bumper harvest drive, the Government extends its assistance through huge loans. To encourage increased output per unit area, the Government exempts from all taxes that portion of the crop which exceeds the average in a given area. Fair prices have also been set on agricultural products, so as to assure a proper income to the peasants. A large number of stations have been set up to popularise the use of new farm implements, and technicians at these stations stand ready to show peasants their use. Some of these implements have been loaned to advanced mutual-aid teams so as to show others how to handle them. Furthermore, the peasants are given opportunities to pool their experience in agricultural production with the advanced agro-techniques of state farms, while their own experience is, at the same time, popularised all over the country by the People's Government.

Peasants are nowadays using horse-drawn seed drills

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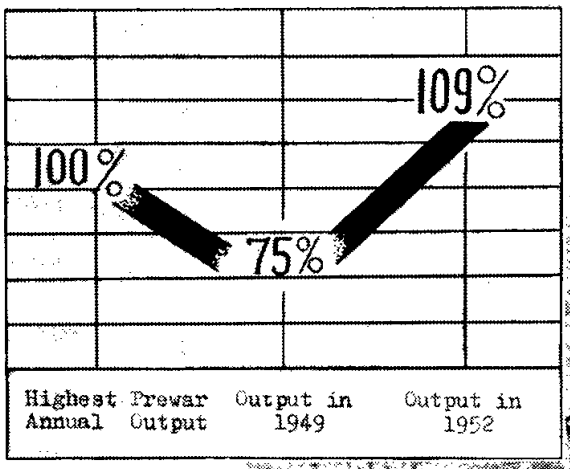
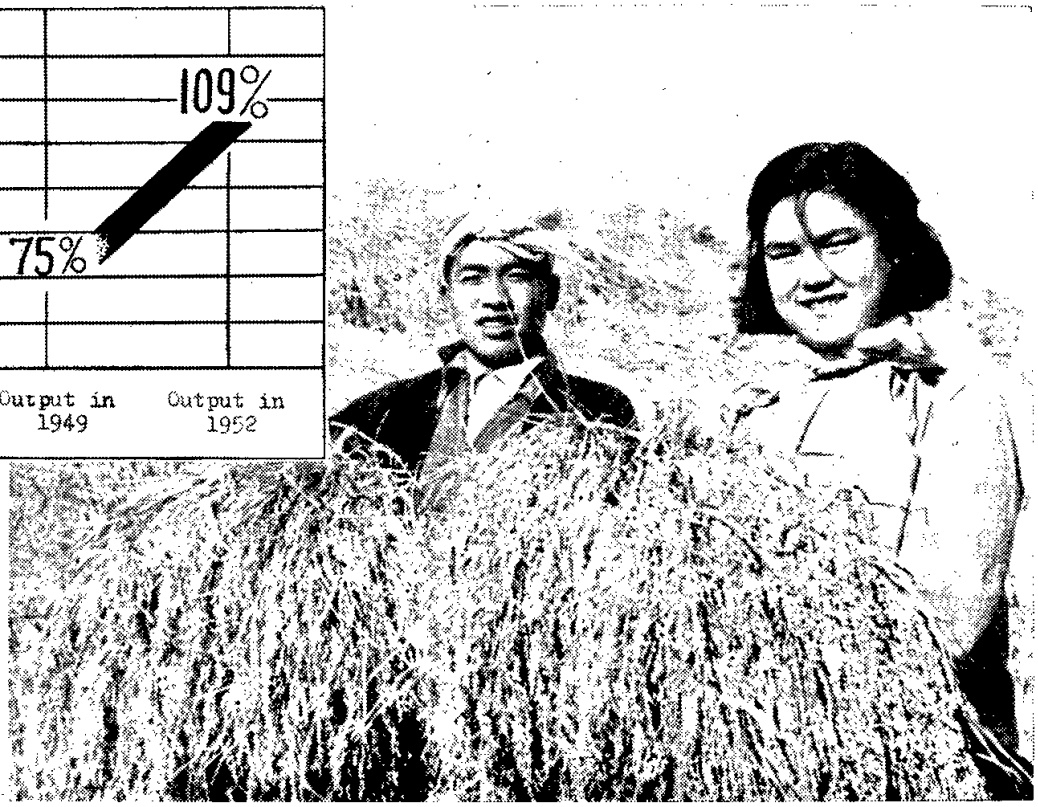
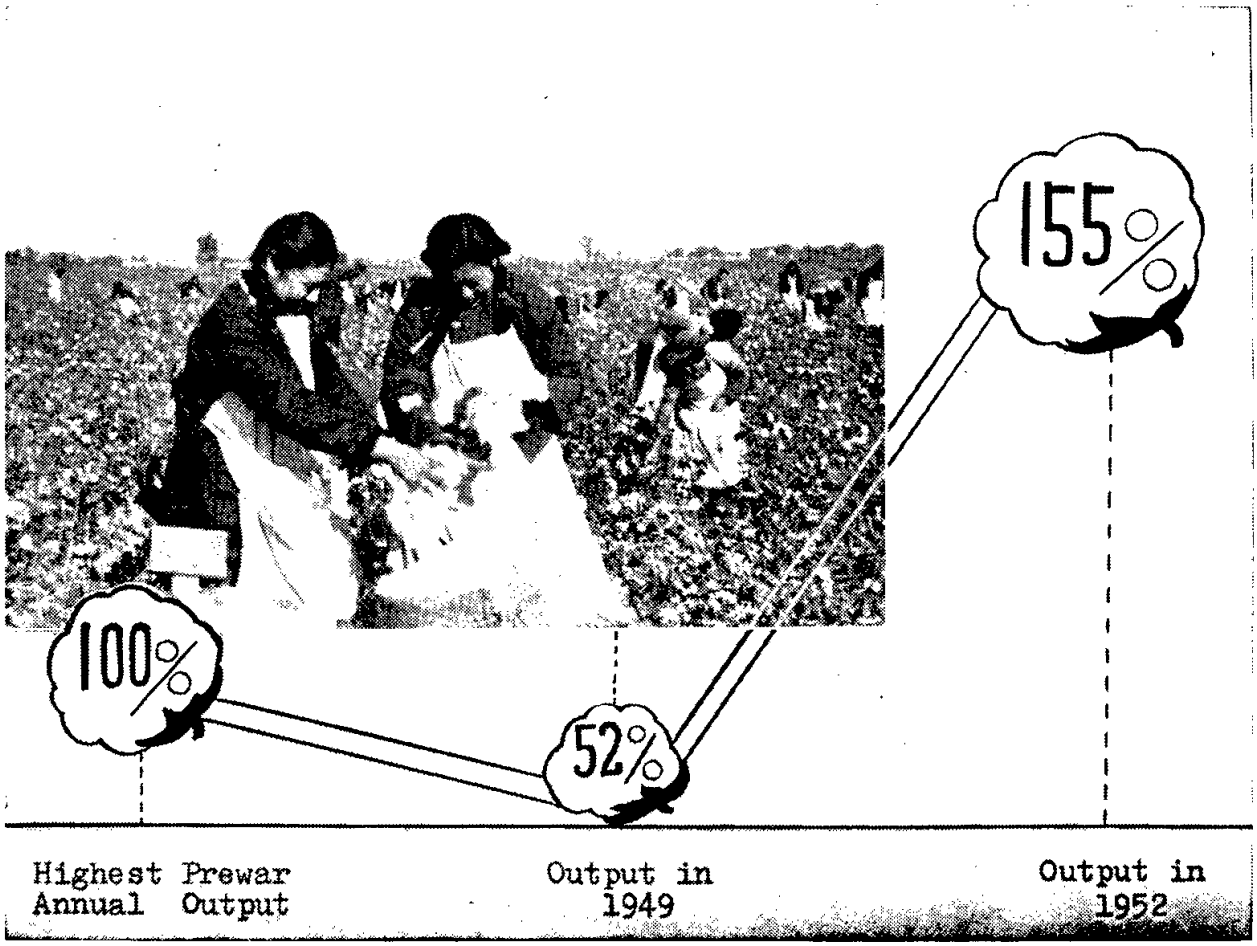




INCREASE IN GRAIN OUTPUT

Increase in Cotton Output



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ERRATUM

On page 37, the fourth paragraph, the third line "...five and a half million people" should read: "...fifty-five million people".

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All these factors have made it possible to speed up the restoration and development of agricultural production. In 1952, the output of grain of China was nine per cent, and that of cotton fifty-five per cent higher than the highest pre-war record. It must be remembered that before liberation China used to import rice. From 1951 onwards, however, she has been able to export one shipment of rice after another to India and Ceylon. The output of hemp, tobacco, silk, tea, fruits, etc. has also surpassed all pre-war levels. Now China can meet her people's need for food and industrial crops completely without importations from abroad.

Safe from the Threat of Flood

At the same time that the bumper harvest campaign got into full swing, the peasants flung themselves into the great battle against floods, the centuries-old menace to their lives and property.

In the interest of millions of peasants, the People's Government has undertaken great water conservancy works. The sum spent for this purpose was in 1950 eighteen times, in 1951 forty-two times, and in 1952 fifty-two times the highest annual figure under the Kuomintang regime. Statistics reveal that 1,700,000,000 cubic metres of earth have been moved, an excavation equivalent to that of 10 Panama or 23 Suez canals. Repairs have been made on 42,000 kilometre of main dykes, and work to eliminate floods completely has begun on many rivers.

The greatest water conservancy work undertaken by the People's Government is the Huai River project. This harnessing job will transform nature, free within three to five years five and a half million people 5.5 million living on the 210,000 square kilometres of the Huai River Valley forever from the threat of floods, irrigate 40 million *mou* of farm land, improve navigation on 1,000 kilometres of inland waterways, and generate tremendous hydraulic power.

Millions of peasant-workers have taken part in this project since its start in the winter of 1950-1951. This labour army, inspired by the prospect of mastering Nature for the common good, has displayed great patriotism and obtained astonishing results. Many new names have been added to the list of model workers through this gigantic project.

Twenty-year old Youth League member King Hsiu-lan is the daughter of a former poor peasant. In pre-liberation years, her family had been driven into destitution when floods caused crop failures. After liberation, the life of her family has been getting better every day. In 1950, when Chairman Mao issued the call "The Huai River must be harnessed!" King Hsiu-lan immediately went to work on the project selflessly.

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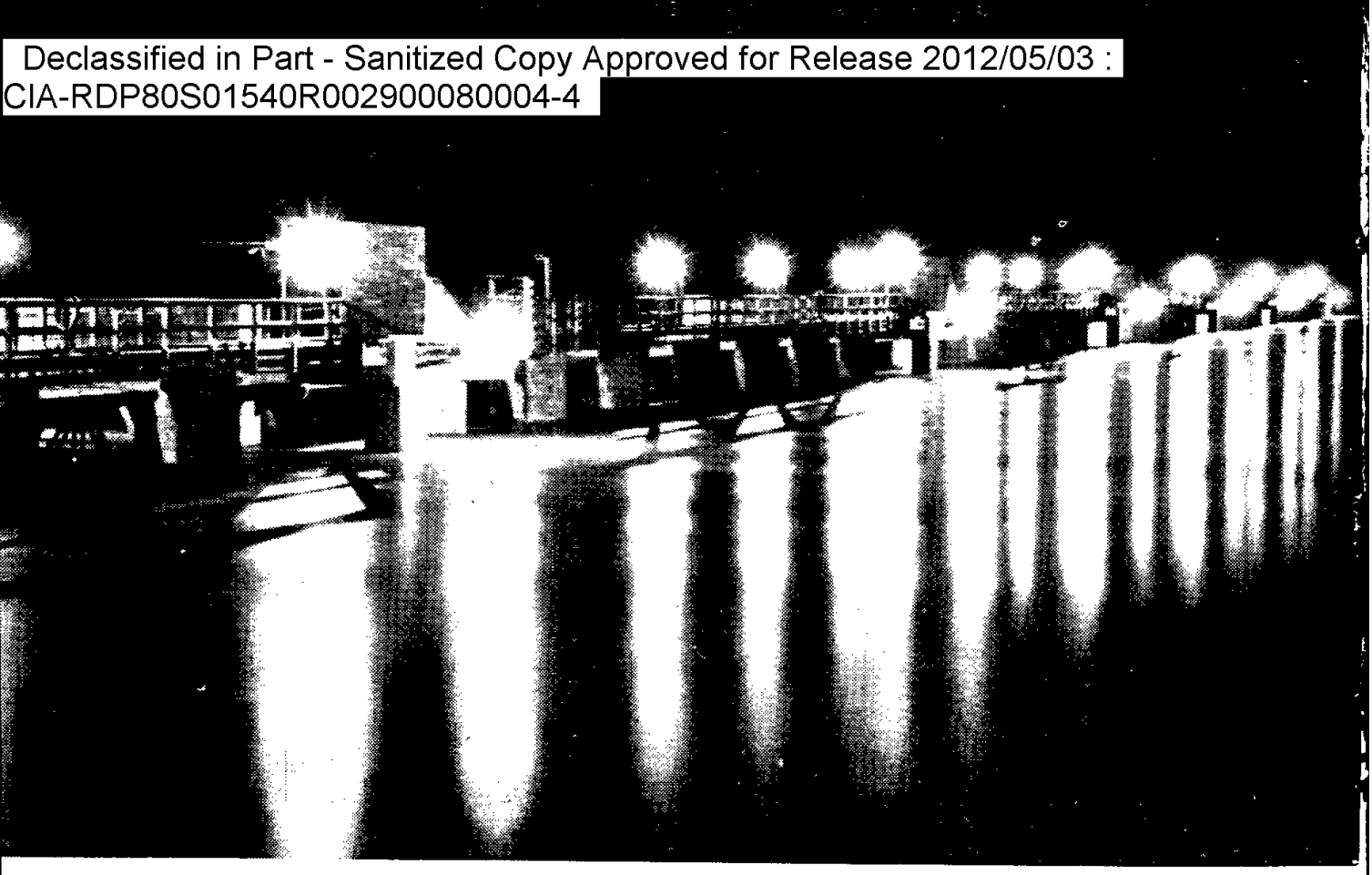
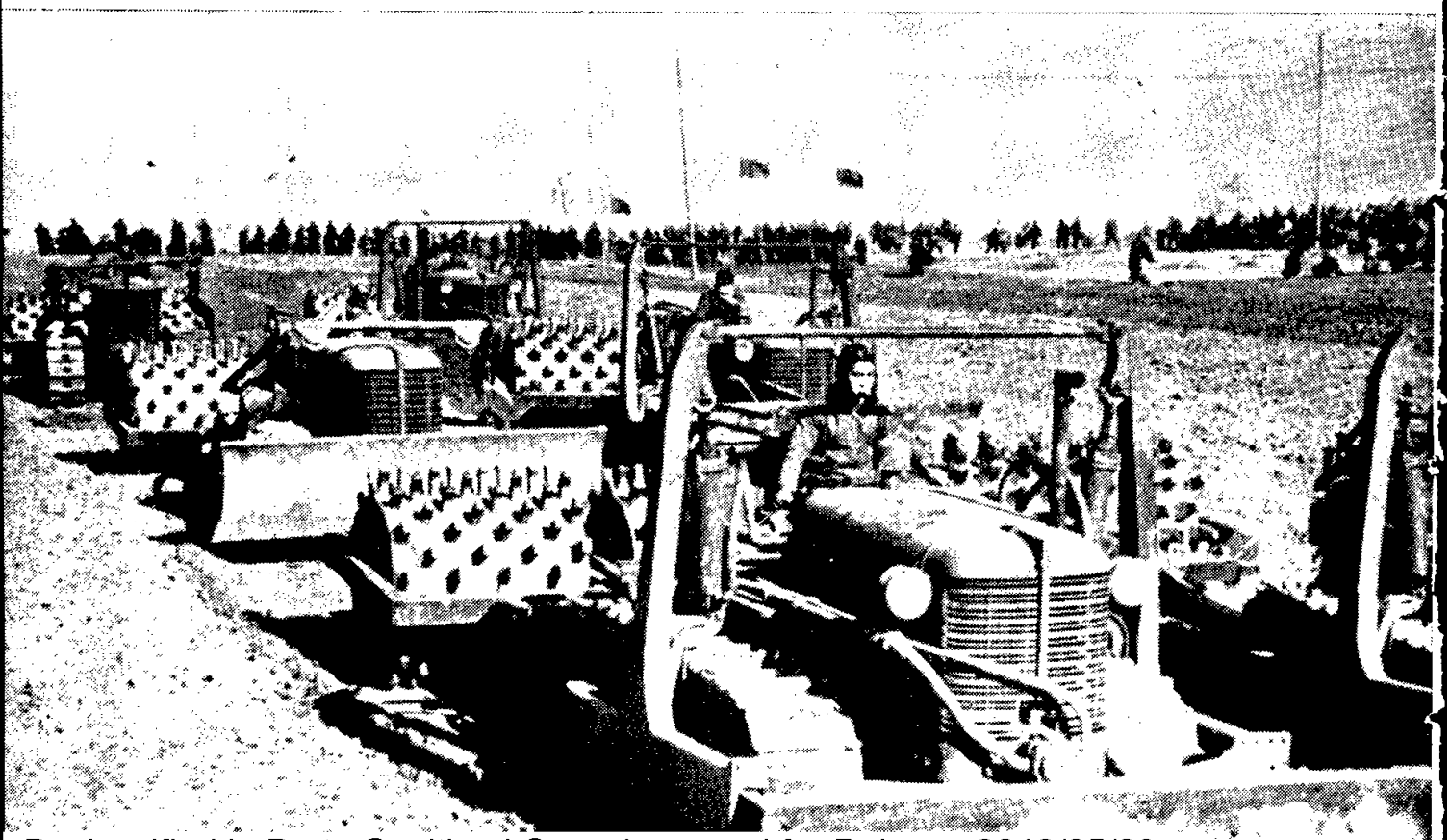


The great Junhochi sluice-gate on the Huai River at night

Machinery aids construction on the Huai River project



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Once she led a brigade of peasant labourers to dredge a heavily silted-up swampy stretch of more than 650 metres in length, 50 metres in width and 5 metres in depth. This was a rather difficult job for the mud was so deep that it was almost impossible to get it out. But King Hsiu-lan led the brigade to try again and again until they had worked out a new method and succeeded in dredging 300,000 cubic metres of mud from the bog.

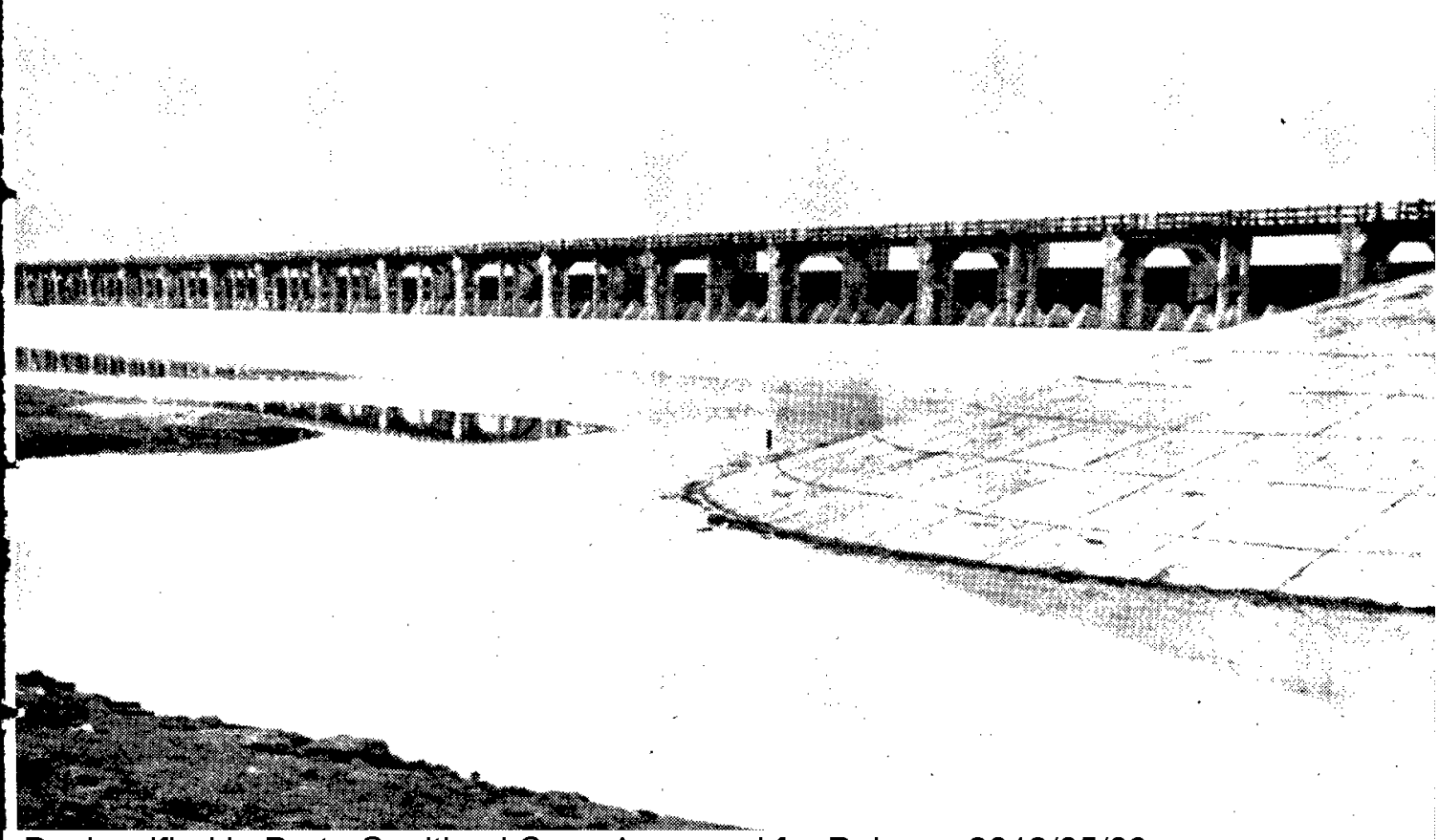
This achievement greatly inspired the more than ten thousand workers engaged in the same type of work with new confidence.

Thanks to the creative efforts of all the river-tamers, the first two phases of the project were completed by July 1952, involving 287 million cubic metres of earthwork, not counting another 220 million cubic metres which the peasants had moved to irrigate their own fields. Already the changes brought about in the Huai Valley are tremendous. Since the spring of 1951, peasants have each year reaped crops such as they never had before.

Life is Improving Day by Day

The fruits of the peasants' free labour are their steadily rising living standards.

This 1,054-metre sluice-gate is part of the vast water conservancy project completed in 75 days on the middle reaches of the Yangtse River. This project includes a flood detention basin capable of holding 5,500,000,000 cubic metres of water



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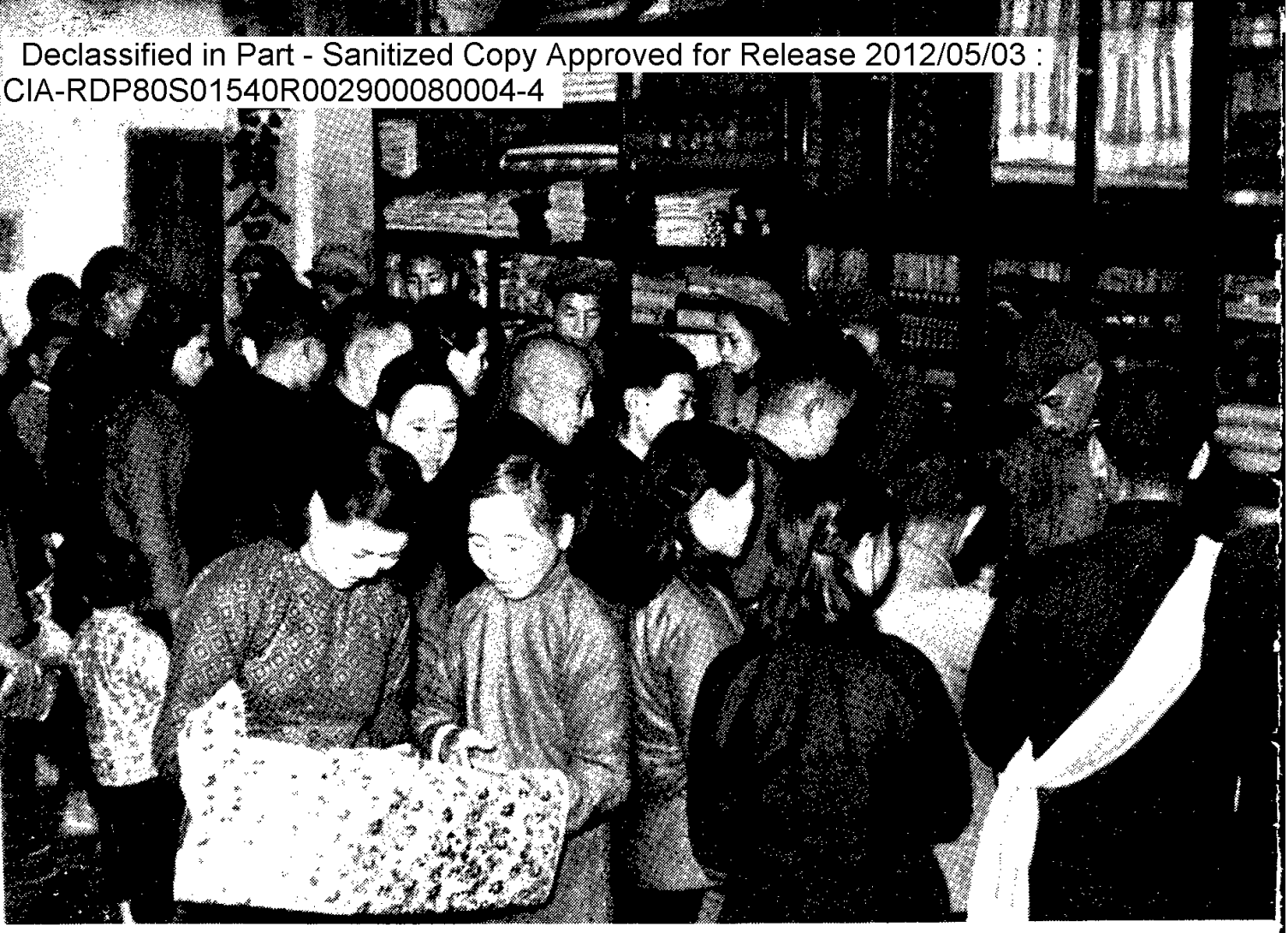

Peasant crowds in a village cooperative

The improvement in the peasants' life can best be seen in their rising purchasing power. In the past, industrial goods had seldom reached the countryside. Now the peasants have become the chief customers for industrial goods. There is a daily increasing demand in the countryside for such items as toilet soap, flashlights, bicycles, and thermos bottles which the peasants could not afford before. Now they buy sugar, glassware, shoes, stockings, cigarettes, hand towels, etc., in large quantities.

It is also worth noting that the peasants are able to invest an increasing portion of their income to expand production. For this reason, there is a growing demand in the countryside for draft animals, farm implements, seed, fertiliser and other means of production.

Culture Follows the Plough

In pre-liberation days, peasants had no access whatsoever to education, and their overwhelming majority were illiterate. Since liberation,

Bookstores are now frequented by young peasants too

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Village children study in the sunshine in front of their school

as a result of improved economic conditions, the peasants have an urgent demand for cultural enlightenment.

Winter is a slack season for production, but a busy season for studies. In 1951 more than 42 million peasants attended winter schools; in 1952 there were 50 million attending such schools.

After these winter schools, the peasants can continue their studies in regular spare-time schools in their villages. The total enrollment of this type of school was 14 million in 1951 and 24 million in 1952.

Nowadays, cadres of peasant origin, like the workers, are enrolling in large numbers in primary and secondary short-term schools, the People's University, and other educational institutions.

Aside from learning to read and write, peasants now study also current affairs, agricultural science, sanitation, government policies and other matters closely related to their life and productive work.

They now have many cultural activities too. Small libraries stocked with popular reading materials exist in many villages. While there were only 4,939 such village libraries in 1950, their number increased to 15,000 by 1952. There are now 1,800 cinema teams dividing their time between shows in factories and in rural areas. Yangko dance groups, dramatic groups and clubs have been organised by the peasants them-

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selves everywhere. Through these activities, peasants both find entertainment and learn many things useful to know in the still more wonderful days ahead.

Rural Women Now Emancipated

For generations, Chinese women had been ground underfoot by feudalism. But the agrarian reform has given them ownership of land, so that they are no longer economically dependent on men but on an equal footing with men.

The Marriage Law is another boon to women, particularly in the rural area. In the old society, for a girl to have a love affair was a scandal, and marriages were arranged by parents and go-betweens without the young people's consent. Married women were often ill-treated and many of them felt so unhappy in their marriage that they committed suicide. But now the shackles with which feudalism bound China's women are being broken. Young men and women in the countryside are free to choose their mates for life among those whom they meet through work and study. Marriages and happy homes are now the result of love and mutual respect between the partners themselves.

Life is happy for this young peasant couple, married through their own free choice, not by arrangement of their families as in the old feudal society. Working together diligently, they have been able to buy a pony and build this house for themselves

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The emancipated women are doing their part in tilling the land side by side with the men folk. Many of them have distinguished themselves as model peasants or been chosen for leading posts in peasant associations and the people's representative conferences. Women are being looked at with a new respect.

A Still Better Future Beckons

The peasants of new China have made life worth living through their ardent labour so that they now can look forward to a brighter tomorrow.

At present, there are 52 large mechanized state farms in China. These sprouts of socialist agricultural economy in a people's democratic society are growing with great vitality under the tender care of the people.

With state farms setting the example, and under the leadership of the working class, peasants have begun to organise their own collective farms. Now, more than ten such farms are in existence. Their chief means of production such as land, farm implements and draft animals are owned by the people collectively who work in a spirit of collectivism and are paid according to the work done.

The gradual mechanisation of collective farms means less and less heavy manual labour for the members, raises the productivity of the land, and thereby makes their life a much happier one than before.

State farms and collective farms are now held up as the target towards which new China's agriculture must develop. They point the way to a still better and more prosperous life for the masses of peasants throughout the country.

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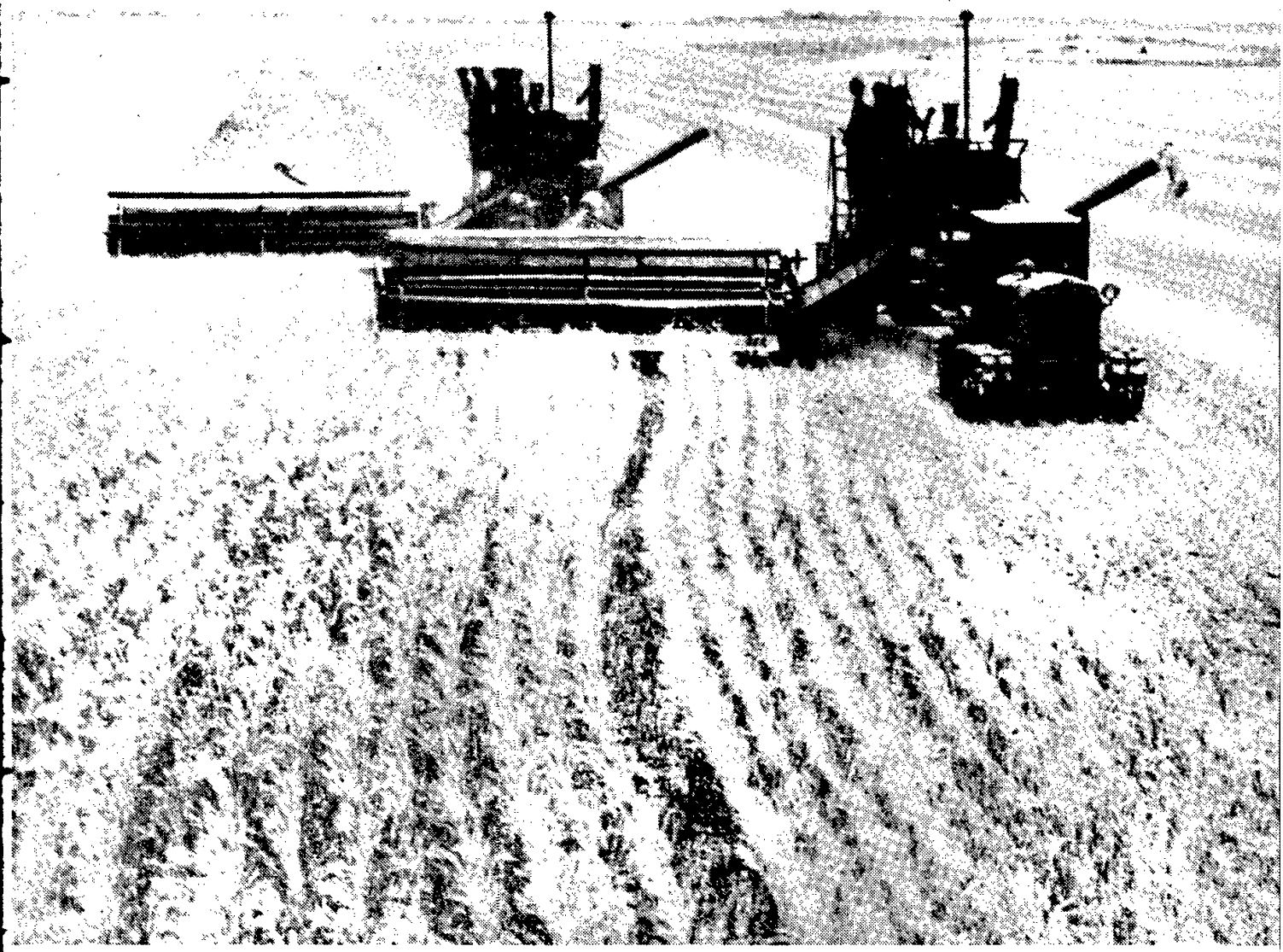

On a State farm

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CHINA'S STUDENTS FACE A BRIGHT FUTURE

Chinese students have a glorious revolutionary tradition. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, they have taken an active part in the people's struggle for national independence and liberation. Today, when this struggle is crowned with victory, students are enjoying the full rights of citizens, thanks to the People's Government, the Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

Education Open to Worker-Peasant Youth

Old China had few schools and those that existed were poorly equipped. The children of the wealthy naturally could get an education; but the masses of workers had little if any chance. The fact that 80 per cent of the Chinese population was illiterate highlights the deplorable state China found herself, under the long years of reactionary regime.

Today, the People's Government focuses its attention on education for the masses. Chairman Mao has said, "We want not only to change a politically oppressed and economically exploited China into a politically free and economically prosperous China, but also to change a China which has been under the rule of the old culture and was thus kept ignorant and backward into a China that will be under the rule of a new culture and will thus become enlightened and progressive. In a word, we want to build up a new China."

In liberated China, therefore, though a thousand and one other things clamour for attention, the People's Government is making every effort to further educational tasks, to rehabilitate schools destroyed by the Kuomintang and set up new ones. At the same time, the success of the land reform, the development of our national economy and rising living standards enable the working people to send their children to school.

Under such favourable circumstances, education has progressed in every respect. A chart showing the increasing number of students will illustrate this fact:

On the campus of Shanghai Industrial College

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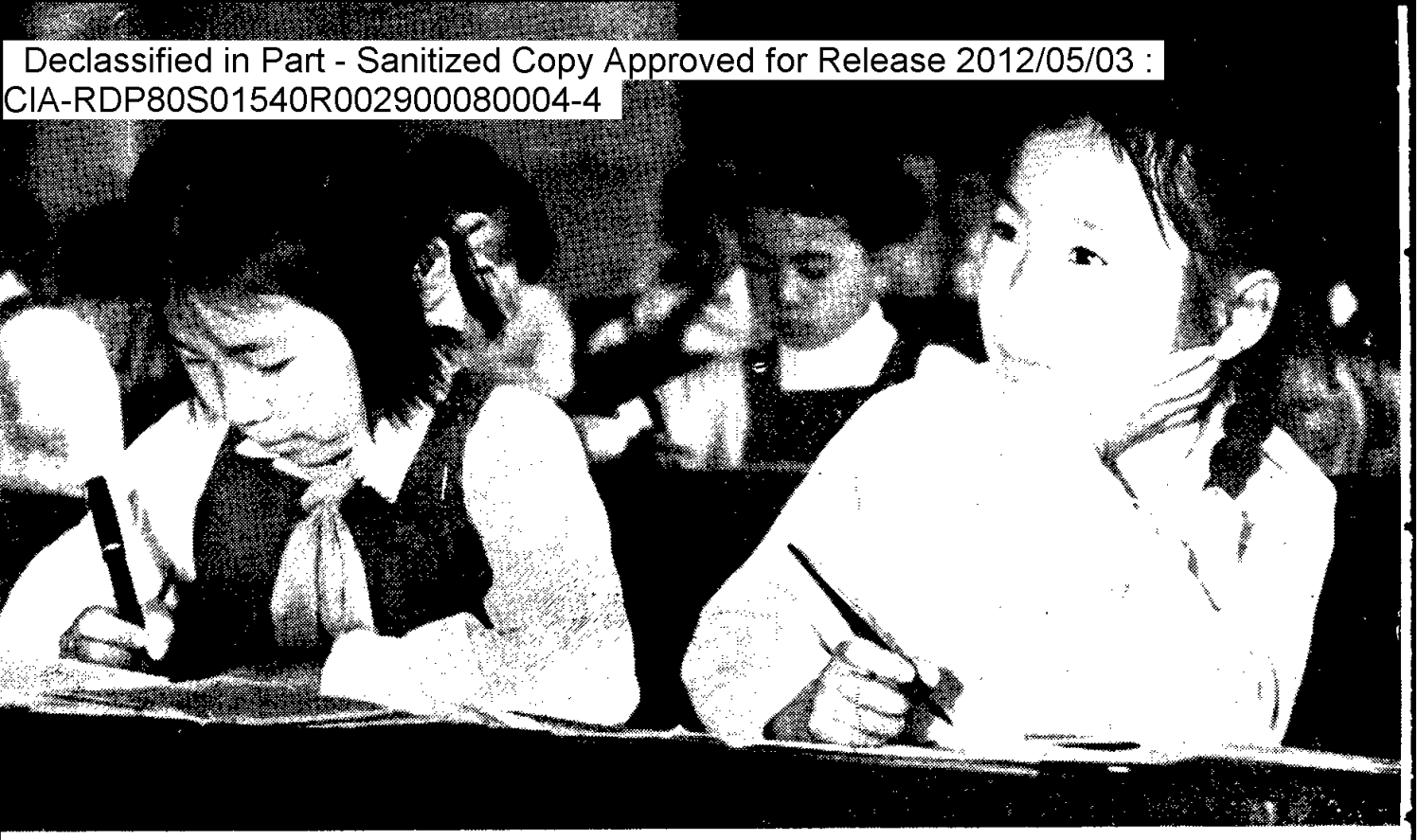

Since the liberation, an ever-increasing number of the working people's children have been able to attend school, in the cities as well as in the rural areas

	Winter 1949	*Autumn 1952*
Primary School Enrollment . .	24,200,000	49,000,000
Secondary School Enrollment .	1,270,000	2,394,000
Institutes of Higher Learning Enrollment	130,000	202,100

All educational institutions open their gates to workers and peasants. At present, students of worker or peasant origin constitute over 80 per cent of the total enrollment in primary schools; about 60 per cent in secondary schools; and more than 20 per cent in higher educational institutions. This phenomenon, unprecedented in China's history, is the result of a series of measures taken by the People's Government to ensure that the labouring people's children have the opportunity to receive education.

On October 1, 1951 the Government Administration Council announced the "Decision Concerning the Reform of the Educational System," one of the salient features of which is the reform of the primary school system. In the past, primary schooling was divided into two stages, the first covering 4 years and the second, 2 years. Schools in the countryside were mostly of the first type only. Accordingly, what many peasant

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children could get at the utmost were four years of education. But the new system provides that primary school covers a total of 5 years (instead of six in two separate stages), and thereby enables the children of working people, in both town and countryside, to complete their primary education.

In order to give government employees of worker or peasant origin the proper education that will provide highly qualified personnel for China's industrialisation, the People's Government has set up special, short-term secondary schools. The school period covers only 3-4 years, but there the students can complete the main courses of regular secondary schools and go on to college. In 1950, the People's Government began to set up higher educational institutions of a new type, the first being the Chinese People's University. This University combines Soviet experience with China's actual needs, enrolling students of worker or peasant origin who now make up 78 per cent of the whole student body. Thirsty for knowledge, these students make very high grades in their studies. Li Feng-lien, a famous model worker, for instance, came to this

At a village school

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Li Feng-lien studies at the Chinese People's University together with Li Yung-chun, one of those who completed the famous Long March from Kiangsi to Yenan in 1935

University at the educational level of a second grade of primary school. After two years' study of preparatory courses, she reached the level of a second-year student in secondary school. In other words, she finished a six-year curriculum in only two years! Carried by such enthusiasm, Li Feng-lien is bound to make a success of her college courses to prepare herself well for her place in the build up of new China.

Students' Welfare

Since the liberation, the children of the labouring people have been provided with the material means to pursue their education. As of 1952, the greatly improved financial and economic state of our country has also made for great improvements in the students' living conditions. The People's Stipends have been considerably increased for students in secondary schools and above. At the same time, while all students of technical secondary-schools, normal schools and institutions of higher

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learning receive such monthly subsidies, cadres of worker-peasant origin, as well as industrial workers who attend school, receive larger amounts. The Government provides, therefore, not only the tuition fees and food expenses for all students in these educational institutions, but gives them also pocket money to spend. Now these students can concentrate on their studies without fear that economic difficulties will force them to leave school.

Health conditions among students were appalling under reactionary rule. Most students were unable to stay healthy partly through poverty and partly because the reactionary rulers confined students to their classrooms in order to cut them off from the outside world, and overloaded curricula to the point where the students' health gave out.

In the new China, children and young people are brought up to be self-reliant, intelligent and healthy, capable of shouldering the difficult tasks involved in building up their country. The students' health, therefore, is a problem that receives great attention. The "Decisions Concerning the Improvement of the Health of Students" announced by the People's Government in September 1951 stipulate clearly the number of study hours allowed each day, so that the students are assured enough rest and sleep. The Decisions also contain special instructions concerning measures of hygiene, sports and recreational activities in the school, as well as improvements in the students' diet.

Sick students are given special care. In Chiaotung University, for example, since the liberation students suffering from tuberculosis rest in special convalescence rooms, and receive the People's Stipends as usual, together with special allowances for nutritious food, cod liver oil and other medicines. The University authorities have also set up a special kitchen for the patients with a nurse looking after their diet and well-being.

Theory Combined with Practice

Apart from being provided with the afore-mentioned facilities, the Chinese students are also enabled in every way to acquire useful knowledge for the task of national construction.

Education in old China served the interests of foreign imperialists and domestic reactionaries. What the students learned often had little to do with China's realities. Educational institutions were set up here and there without regard to actual needs of the locality or the country as a whole. Many colleges had a variety of overlapping departments, so that man-power and materials were largely wasted. Curricula were

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China's rich, underground resources have yet to be utilised. These students of the Peking Geological Institute certainly know what they are studying for

impractical, graduates were too few in number and their scholastic level too low to meet the needs of the country's industrialisation and build-up.

In order to get rid of these irrationalities, readjustments have in the past three years been made in colleges and college departments, with special emphasis on engineering colleges so as to meet the country's urgent needs in large-scale economic construction. Through these re-arrangements, departments of geology, mining, mechanical engineering, metallurgy, aeronautics, etc. have been set up as special schools teaching these subjects. This readjustment has already brought remarkable progress in our college education. The number of industrial colleges has increased from 33 to 44, their student body from 48,000 to 68,000. At the same time, engineering students now constitute a much greater proportion in the total college enrollment of the country. While they made up only 18.9 per cent in 1946, now the percentage has risen to 35.4, the highest place among all branches of study.

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A student in animal husbandry does practical work on a State farm

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Tensile strength tests in a laboratory at Tientsin University

In order to bring about a more effective division of labour as required for large-scale capital construction, industrial colleges adopt advanced plans for college education in conducting special courses with definite aims, so as to train large numbers of specialists.

Students are helped in many practical ways in their studies. Every summer vacation, many students of engineering and technological subjects do practical work in large factories and mines. Plans are mapped out beforehand by factory and mine managers and engineers and technicians appointed to guide these students in their practical work. During the period of practice, workers are ready to extend the students a helping hand and pass on their own experience. Thus, when they leave the factory or mine, the students find their store of book-learning much enriched by practical knowledge.

Rest and Recreation

Through solicitude for the students' health and spirit on the part of the People's Government, athletic and recreational facilities have greatly

College students surveying at Anshan, the steel centre of China, where capital construction is in progress

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Students in summer camp easily break into song

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increased in all schools. Recreational and athletic activities of all sorts and on a large scale are organised under the guidance of the student body.

Physical culture is a required course in all schools. The People's Government requires all students to do at least one hour of athletics every day. The students themselves know very well that, aside from intellectual training, they need a healthy body to take part in their country's development.

In many schools, sportsfields which formerly seemed excessive are now too few in number to hold the increased influx of players, and eager students have set up new playgrounds for themselves. Regular athletic meets are held in all schools.

The People's Government has also allocated large sums to build sportsfields outside of schools. Sportsfields large enough to accommodate 100,000 spectators have been opened in Canton, Wusih, and Chungking. In the public parks of many cities, playgrounds are laid out for children. One such newly-built playground in Peking can hold 4,000 young players at the same time. All these facilities help students and young people in general to build up their bodies, and provide them with health recreation.

Students have a wonderful time swimming at the Kunming Lake in Peking's Summer Palace

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Summer vacation is the time for all students to go in for recreational athletic activities in a really big way; summer camps being the most popular. Summer resorts are filled with the students' songs and laughter, while they are dancing or hiking. But they also attend lectures on literature and science; interview model workers, combat heroes, writers and scientists, combining serious endeavour with joyful living.

Swimming on the beaches or in swimming pools has become a favorite summer sport among Chinese students. The People's Swimming Pool in Peking accommodates 4,000 persons.

It should be mentioned that students receive the People's Stipends during vacation time as well as during the school year, and special allowances are granted them for camping or trips.

After such vacations, students begin the new school year with fresh vigour and in still higher spirits.

Enjoying Democratic Rights

Under the reactionary regime of former days, students had no democratic rights, and social activities of any form were brutally suppressed. The reactionaries wanted students to be bookworms indifferent to social questions.

Today, students are assured full rights. Apart from joining the Youth League which has its branches in all schools, students also have their own organisation—the All-China Students' Federation. In schools, they elect students' associations as the basic units of the Federation. These associations, aside from looking after the students' welfare, assist school authorities in matters of study.

When the People's Political Consultative Conference opened in September 1949, the All-China Students' Federation sent nine representatives and one alternate on behalf of the students of the country. In various places students also send their own representatives to the local people's representative conferences and people's political consultative conferences. All these representatives who are elected by the students themselves sit side by side with the people's representatives from all other walks of life in electing their own government, and discussing and deciding upon important policies of the State.

Freedom of speech and publication being the right of all citizens of China, students' federations of various regional levels publish their own

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New buildings for the China Medical College at Shenyang (Mukden)

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papers; students' associations in the schools also have their own papers. Through groups like broadcast teams, quick-verse groups, publicity groups, correspondents' groups, etc. the students express their opinions, make inquiries of, make suggestions to, and criticise, their own associations, the school authorities and government organs.

A Boundless Future Ahead

In the days of reactionary rule, the students had a saying, "Graduation means unemployment." A vacancy for a small clerical job often brought college graduates, including students of engineering, into keen competition. Beset by financial difficulties, fear of unemployment, the students floundered in the darkness of oppression, without a ray of hope.

Today, graduates from higher and intermediate schools are serving on all sorts of projects in the nation's building according to their own capacities and the needs of the country. Students find jobs arranged for them by the People's Government ahead of their graduation.

Economic and cultural developments on an ever-growing scale make for a growing demand for personnel everywhere. Within the next few years, educational institutions throughout the country are expected to turn out large numbers of specialists of all fields.

To meet this demand, many new educational institutions have been founded. Old ones have added to their libraries and laboratories and erected new buildings; Tsinghua University alone in 1952 built a total floor space of over 43,000 square metres, or 46 per cent of the total built in the past 40 years. The new buildings include classrooms, workshops for mechanical, automobile, and gas engineering, a metal workshop for the civil engineering department, students' dormitories, quarters for the teaching staff, a mess hall seating 2,500 people, etc.

This gives a glimpse of the tremendous development in the people's education and of the bright prospects in store for all young Chinese intellectuals who are ready to serve the people.

The Chinese students of the Mao Tse-tung era are confidently marching towards a radiant future. They are studying hard for a common goal: to build up their Motherland to make it ever stronger and more prosperous.

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Students of the Central Institute for Nationalities

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NEW PROSPECTS FOR NATIONALITIES

Just off the highway on the western outskirts of Peking, several palace-like buildings house the Central Institute for Nationalities, in which young men and women of 34 national minorities are gathered from 23 provinces in China. The atmosphere in this multi-national family is one of fraternal unity. The young people wear their different national costumes, dance their own national dances, and sing in their own language, in praise of Chairman Mao Tse-tung whose leadership has made possible the joyous life they are now leading. Small wonder that they are cheerful and smiling all the time!

Equality and Liberty

Like the Han people, the national minorities obtained a happy life only after liberation. In the past, they were discriminated against, oppressed and exploited by the reactionary rulers. They were backward economically and culturally; even mere survival was difficult under the high disease rate.

Chairman Mao's policy towards nationalities brought liberty and equality. In his opening speech at the first plenary session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in 1949 he stressed: "Our conference is composed of more than six hundred delegates, representing all China's democratic parties and groups, people's organisations, the People's Liberation Army, various nationalities and overseas Chinese." This was a great event in China's history, the beginning of friendship and cooperation among all her nationalities.

The Common Programme of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference contains the definite stipulation that "Greater nationalism and local nationalism shall be opposed. Acts involving discrimination, oppression and splitting the unity of the various nationalities shall be prohibited." And that "All national minorities shall have free-

Premier Chou En-lai gives his autograph to young delegates of national minorities at a reception in Peking

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dom to develop their spoken and written languages, to preserve or reform their traditions, customs and religious beliefs."

According to the Common Programme, all nationalities, under the unified leadership of the People's Government, are free to administer their own affairs in any way they like to adopt. At present, in most areas where national minorities are concentrated, regional autonomy has been established and autonomous organs set up through the convocation of people's representative conferences. In places where different nationalities live together, democratic coalition governments have been established through people's representative conferences of all the nationalities concerned. Available statistics show that, up to June 1952, 130 national autonomous regions and more than 200 democratic coalition governments had come into being. Of these, the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region had been set up as early as May 1947.

Life Changes

In the past, the Kuomintang's reactionary policy of oppression and plundering left the national minorities in extreme poverty. Reactionary government officials carried off their products for a mere song, but sold daily necessities to them at exorbitant prices.

Harvesting in a Tibetan village

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Young people in Inner Mongolia have a future as bright and boundless as their steppes

Now the situation is quite different. Local products fetch fair prices. For example, in Sining, Chinghai Province, 50 kilograms of local wool were formerly exchanged for only 8 yards of cloth; since liberation, they exchange for more than 80 yards. In Tating, Kweichow Province, the Miao people used to get only 12.5 kilograms of table salt for as much as 50 kilograms of tung oil, but now they can buy 80 kilograms of table salt for the same 50 kilograms of tung oil. Thus, the national minorities' purchasing power has risen greatly. That of the nomadic people in Sinkiang, Chinghai and Ningsia provinces, for example, is six or seven times what it used to be before liberation!

The People's Government has also helped them improve their agricultural methods and livestock farming. In Inner Mongolia, in 1951, the average propagation rate of livestock reached 85.69 and the survival rate from 90 to 100 per cent, all new records without precedent. In some places of this region, the number of livestock today is double, triple or even quadruple that of 1945.

These factors have remarkably improved the economic life of the national minorities. Needless to say that, through the rapid expansion

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of China's economy as a whole, life among her nationalities will grow still better and happier.

Shedding the Shackles of Disease

One of the worst evils of the past during successive reactionary regimes was the prevalence of disease among the minority people, which accounted for a decline in their populations. Liberation is gradually eliminating this scourge of disease. The Central People's Government has set aside special allocations for health work in minority areas. In early 1952, health centers and clinics restored or newly set up in counties where minority people constituted 50 per cent or more of the local population numbered 187. As the minority people are scattered far and wide or live a nomadic life, many medical, epidemic prevention and health workers' teams have been sent into their areas for curative and preventive purposes, as well as to help setting up basic medical institutions and to carry out propaganda work on sanitation and hygiene. Furthermore, in order to make up for the scarcity of medical personnel in these areas, the Central People's Government, while sending in batches of health

Students of national minority origin in Northwest China at a medical lecture

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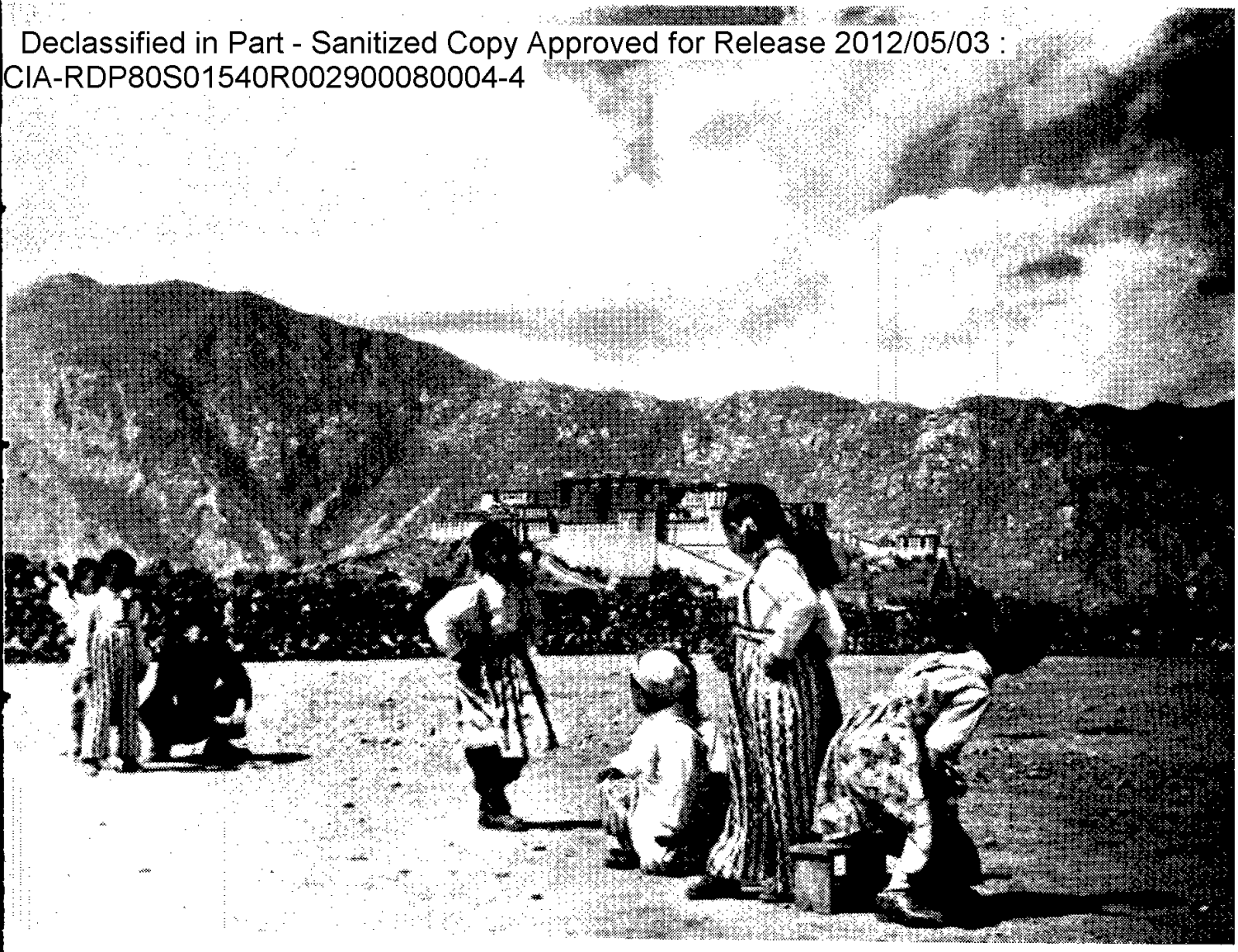

Tibetan school-children dancing in celebration of China's National Day in front of the Potala Palace

workers, is bringing many young intellectuals from among national minorities for study into medical colleges and schools. Plans have also been worked out for the establishment of short-term medical classes and institutes in minority regions.

Out of the Abyss of Ignorance

Past reactionary regimes pushed minority people deeper and deeper into ignorance and backwardness. Children and young people were deprived of educational opportunities. After the liberation, the Central People's Government has done much to develop culture and education among national minorities. Supplementary appropriations are provided for this purpose, aside from regular expenditures as schools elsewhere in China now receive. In the past three years, education has greatly developed in national minority regions, and more and more of their young

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people are enabled to attend school. At present, the number of primary schools in Inner Mongolia alone is 4,084 with an enrollment of more than 321,000 students, i.e. over three and a half times the peak level during the Japanese occupation. In the Yenpien Region in Northeast China, about 92 per cent of school-age children among the Korean nationals living there are now attending school. In the national minority regions of the whole country, there are over 9,100 primary schools with a total student body of 738,000; 92 regular secondary schools; 21 normal schools; 3 technical secondary schools; and one short-term secondary school for workers and peasants.

The language of the nationality concerned is used in all these schools. The Central People's Government published more than 2,200,000 copies of 176 books in the various national minority languages in 1951, and another 4,300,000 copies of 376 books in 1952. In the course of the year ending March 1952, the Sinkiang People's Publishing House alone brought out 1,730,000 copies for minority people, including translations of the "Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung," text books, magazines, literary, scientific and other works. In Sinkiang, Inner Mongolia, the Yenpien Region, and other areas, the minority people read newspapers and listen in radio programmes in their own languages. The Committee of Cultural and Educational Affairs has set up the Committee for Research into the Spoken and Written Languages of National Minorities, which assists in creating written languages for those among the nationalities which do not have any of their own, as well as in perfecting those written languages that need improvement.

The national minorities have a rich cultural heritage, especially in music and the dance. The Miao people are famous for their "moon dance" and the Uighurs are known as a "dancing nationality" for whom dances and songs have become inseparable parts of life. The dances and songs of minority people, most of which describe romances, historical events or celebrate the harvest, are all characterised by simplicity and the expression of healthy, joyous emotions. This invaluable artistic heritage receives great attention now, and its national forms have been enriched with new, democratic content.

Since the people of national minorities have become their own masters, a large number of cadres from among their own people are

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Uighurs from Sinkiang Province in one of their national dances

needed for building up the various autonomous regions. The scarcity of manpower caused by the reactionary rule of the past is now being overcome. The Central People's Government is paying great attention to the training and promotion of cadres from among national minorities. To this end, eight branches of the Central Institute for Nationalities in Peking have been set up in Northwest, Southwest and Central-South China. These institutions to date have a total of more than 3,700 students from 50-odd different nationalities. Training classes and schools have also been set up for the same purpose. Colleges and schools in all parts of the country admit young people of national minority origin on a priority basis, and make special allowances for them. Korean nationals residing in the Yenpien Region have a university of their own. The inhabitants of Inner Mongolia, too, will soon have a well-equipped one.

These young people show unparalleled enthusiasm and thirst for knowledge, coupled with love and admiration for the greatness and

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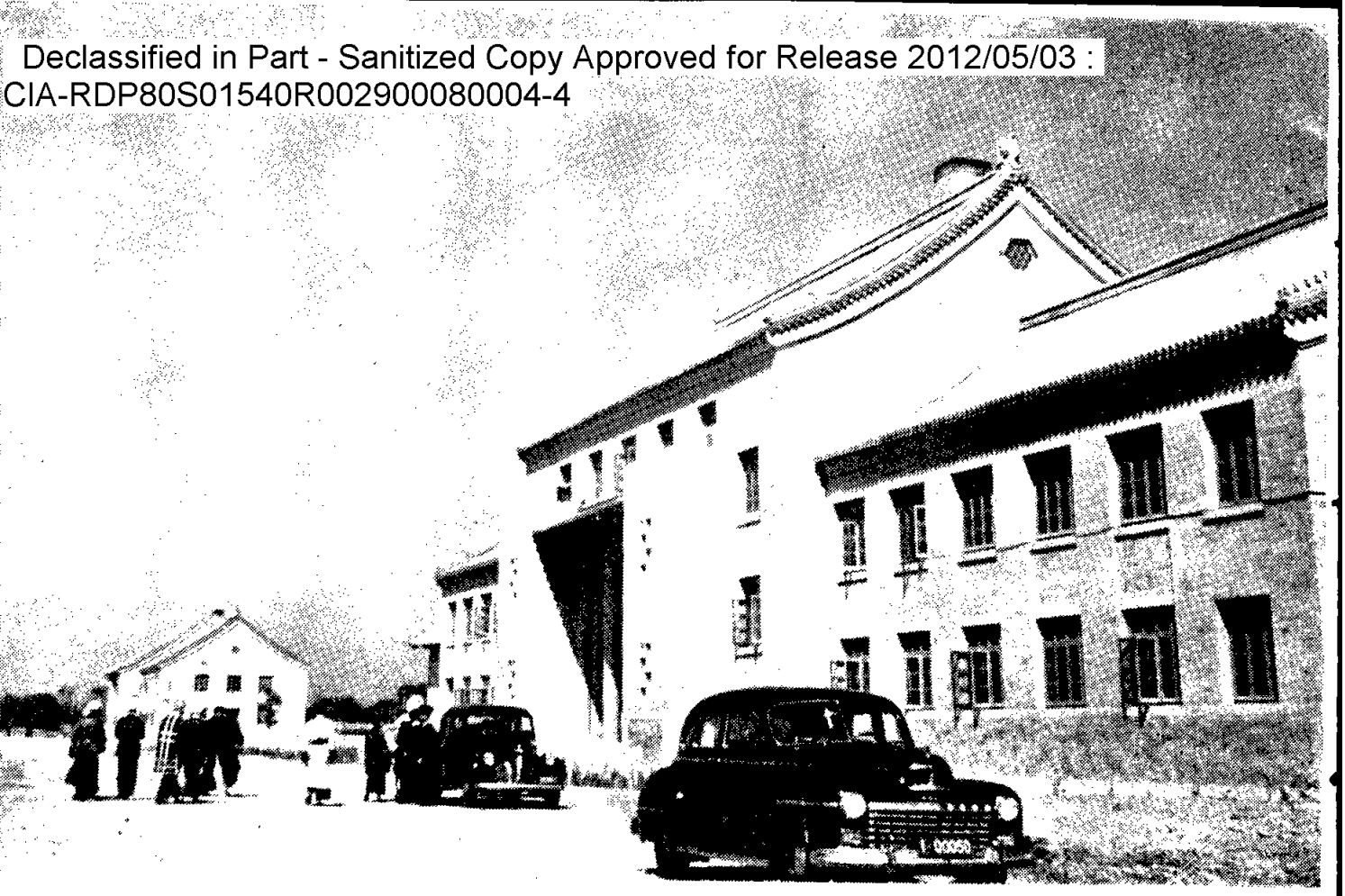

One of the new buildings of the Central Institute for Nationalities

riches of their Motherland. In practical life, they have gained the experience of warmth and loving kindness among China's multi-national family, and this has given them greater faith in the unity and equality of all nationalities. The rapid development of China as a whole presages the bright future that is in store for their own nationality. Therefore, they are determined to work and study still harder so that, under the great banner of Mao Tse-tung, they like all others may contribute a growing share to their country's build-up, as well as to the prosperity of their own localities.

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FOR PEACE AND INTERNATIONAL FRIENDSHIP

The happiness of China's youth today is the result of long-drawn-out struggles for which many laid down their lives. This happy present in peace and security is made precious by this sacrifice. But to say that the Chinese people love peace, does not mean that they are waiting for peace to drop into their laps. Peace has to be won by action.

At the Forefront in Defence of Peace

Since October 1950, when U.S. imperialism fanned the flames of aggressive war closer and closer to China's border, the Chinese people in general, and youth in particular, have stood in the forefront of the struggle against the war-mongers. To protect their motherland and to

Chinese people's volunteers ready to depart for Korea

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Chinese volunteers march side by side with the Korean People's Army

defend world peace, the Chinese people sent their best sons and daughters —the Chinese people's volunteers—to fight shoulder to shoulder with the Korean people and the Korean People's Army. The volunteers, heirs to the revolutionary tradition of the Chinese people, have proved both their patriotism and internationalism in Korea. The names of many heroes among them are on everybody's lips. Take, for instance, young volunteer Kuo Chung-tien whose platoon, with only light weapons and hand grenades, heroically stood one whole day against an enemy force armed with 80 tanks and other heavy weapons and protected by large number of planes, killing hundreds of the enemy without a single casualty in their own platoon. Or pilot Chang Chi-hui who shot down several U.S. planes including that of Major Davies, the "ace pilot" of U.S. imperialism. Or "The Chinese Matrosov", 21-year-old combat hero Huang Chi-kuang, who covered the advance of his comrades-in-arms by throwing himself against the fire-spitting loophole of the enemy's pillbox.

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The heroism of the volunteers expresses itself also in their loving care for the Korean people. Many fighters have risked their very lives to help them in an emergency. One example is 19-year-old Lo Sheng-chiao, who dived into a hole in a frozen river to save a drowning Korean boy, but sacrificed his own life. There are many such stories of heroism coming from the Korean front all the time, too many to be all told in detail. The reason for the heroism of these young Chinese is that they know what they are fighting for: to defend and protect the happy life and the rights already attained by China's younger generation. China's youth will never allow the U.S. imperialists to trample underfoot the fruits it has gained in more than thirty years of bitter struggle.

The valiant fight of the Chinese people's volunteers alongside the Korean People's Army during the past two years and more has been

Pilot Chang Chi-hui

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Huang Chi-kuang throws himself against an enemy pill-box and stops the machine-gun fire

dealing heavy blows to the U.S. invaders, thwarted their plot to enslave the Korean people and to encroach upon people's China. This valiant fight enables us to carry out large-scale construction as planned in all parts of our vast country, to create and build an ever happier life through our own toil. The victories scored by our volunteers also inspire the peoples in oppressed countries with confidence that their struggles for freedom and independence will be victorious. They are the symbol of victory for people everywhere in the world in the struggle for peace.

Active Peace Signature Collectors

In 1950, when the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress first issued the Stockholm Appeal, China and its youth demonstrated their support with 223,730,000 signatures. In 1951, the number of peo-

Students of the Chinese People's University crowd to affix their names to the Appeal for the Conclusion of a Five Power Peace Pact

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ple, youth and all, who affixed their names to the Appeal for the Conclusion of a Five Power Peace Pact totalled over 343,800,000. Simultaneously, the Chinese people launched a campaign against the militarisation of Japan and for an over-all peace treaty with Japan, the voters in which numbered over 339,650,000.

China's youth flung itself into these campaigns and played a great role in advancing them. For example, the young people of Harbin carried out extensive propaganda among the masses after the World Peace Council issued the Appeal for a Five Power Peace Pact. As a result, 19,000 Youth League members collected 213,000 signatures in that city alone.

Another outstanding fact is that nearly all students in Peking signed this Appeal.

International Friendship and Solidarity

The youth of China follows with great concern the life and struggles of youth in other lands, facts of which are widely popularised through

The young people of East China give the Soviet Youth Delegation a grand welcome

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"Youth, Unite in the Fight for Peace, against the Danger of a New War!" Chinese youth delegates join hands at Berlin with delegates from other countries

various publications. In order to strengthen the contact and understanding between the youth of China and other countries, publications are exchanged with youth organisations abroad.

The frequent exchange of youth delegations with other countries also helps to strengthen the understanding of other parts of the world and binds the young people of China to young friends in far-away lands, a great contribution to the world peace movement.

So far, Chinese youth delegations have visited 20 countries, while 47 countries have sent youth delegations to China.

Soon after the founding of the People's Republic of China, in 1950 a Soviet youth delegation, headed by Mikhailov, and a cultural group visited this country upon the invitation of the New Democratic Youth League of China. In the same year, upon the invitation of Soviet youth, a Chinese youth delegation also visited the Soviet Union. This exchange of delegations has not only afforded China's youth an opportunity to learn from the precious experiences of young people in the Soviet Union

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in socialist construction; it has also further enhanced the friendship and solidarity between the youth of China and of the U.S.S.R.

The biggest youth delegation ever to visit China was the delegation of the World Federation of Democratic Youth, comprising 42 delegates from 32 countries. They came to China in 1950 on the invitation of the All-China Federation of Democratic Youth. The delegation attended the National Day Celebration of the People's Republic of China, then visited eighteen of the country's major cities.

In 1951, the Chinese young people sent a big delegation to participate in the Third World Festival of Youth and Students for Peace which took place in Berlin. In this great demonstration of friendship and solidarity of youth, China's youth joined 25,000 youth delegates from over 100 countries and 2,000,000 young German people and, together with them, pledged unanimously: " . . . to dedicate all our strength to struggle to prevent a new war. . . ."

The young people of China will continue to work for friendship and solidarity with the youth of other lands and actively participate in the struggle for world peace. They warmly support the resolutions of the Congress of the Peoples for Peace held in Vienna in December 1952. They stand ready to support these resolutions with deeds.

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Chinese Youth Celebrated Youth Day

On May 4th this year, the youth of China joyfully celebrated their own festival day, Chinese Youth Day.

The May Fourth Movement of 1919, well-known in Chinese history, came about under the influence of the great October Socialist Revolution. Two years after the Movement, in 1921, the Chinese Communist Party was founded. From then on, the Chinese revolution has taken on an entirely new character. The May Fourth Movement marked the close of the era of China's Old Democratic Revolution and the beginning of the epoch of the New Democratic Revolution.

The May Fourth Movement fully demonstrated the revolutionary spirit of the Chinese youth. Hundreds of thousands of students took part in this movement, forming an important force in the revolution. Since then, under the guidance of the Chinese Communist Party, Chinese youth have played their part in all the historical periods of the revolution. For this reason, May 4th has been observed every year as Chinese Youth Day.

The Chinese New Democratic Revolution, begun with the May Fourth Movement, has already won great victories under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Chairman Mao Tse-tung. As a result, the People's Republic of China was established in 1949. During the past three years and more, our country has carried out a series of social reforms; both industrial and agricultural production have been restored and developed; a fundamental turn for the better has been achieved in the financial and economic condition of our country. All this has created favourable conditions for our large-scale economic construction.

In the test of revolutionary struggle and construction work, very many young people have shown their excellent qualities of heroism in battle, skill in labour and diligence in study. From among them there have emerged a multitude of brilliant heroes and models whose exemplary activities and creative labour have played a tremendous role in the cause of the revolution.

Young workers have enthusiastically participated in the patriotic emulation campaign to increase production. A great many inventions and creations of young workers are being adopted and popularized. Such young workers as Ho Chien-hsiu, the inventor of a scientific spinning method, and Cheng Hsi-kun, the initiator of the extra-haulage drive on China's railways, have made tremendous savings for the nation through their conscious, creative labour. Among the 81,000 Youth League members working on the railways, nearly 19,000 were awarded prizes for their outstanding work last year.

Young workers are particularly keen on studying techniques. Young miner Ku Fa-ming, by learning from advanced Soviet experience, has established a national record by sinking 75 metres of shaft in one month. Young technical instructor Peng Hsung-fu has worked out a teaching method which enables an apprentice to acquire within three months the fundamental knowledge and technique of lathe operating which used to take two to four years formerly.

Likewise, young peasants, who make up one-fourth of the rural population of China, are playing an important part in agricultural production. Of the four million and more Youth League members in the countryside, three million have joined mutual-aid and cooperative organisations, and many are entrusted with leading responsibilities. Together with the broad masses of peasant youth, they have plunged into the patriotic movement for bumper harvests. Young farmers are among the first to apply up-to-date farming methods. According to the statistics for the four provinces of Northeast China, some 200,000 young peasants received agrotechnical training last year. The drive to learn advanced farming technique has resulted in remarkable increases in agricultural output. The mutual-aid team led by the young model peasant Chen Yi-ko, for instance, has reaped one good harvest after another ever since its formation in 1949. Its average rice crop in 1952 was about 62 per cent above the previous year's record.

Young intellectuals are working energetically in workshops, laboratories and farms. In Anshan alone, more than 1,000 college students have been assigned to different jobs. Educated in New China, these young intellectuals know how to link theoretical knowledge with the workers' and peasants' practical experiences. Chou Chuan-tien, Vice-Director of Anshan's Iron Smelting Plant, came fresh from college just three and a half years ago. By cooperating with other technicians and workers, he has succeeded in producing, from low-grade ores, basic pig iron, the top quality material for making steel. His advanced method has contributed much to the metallurgical industry in Anshan.

While engaged in peaceful construction, Chinese youth always bear in mind the volunteers who are defending their homeland by resisting the U.S. aggressors in Korea. Chinese youth know that it is the gallant fight of the volunteers that has created the conditions for the peaceful construction of their country. The noble examples of such martyrs as the 19-year-old Lo Sheng-chiao, who dived into a frozen river to save a drowning Korean boy but

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sacrificed his own life, and the 21-year-old Huang Chi-kuang, who covered the advance of his comrades-in-arms by blocking with his own body the fire from the loophole of the enemy pillbox, have given great impetus to the constructive efforts of the tens of millions of young people at home.

The May Fourth Youth Day this year was marked by the fact that China has entered upon the first year of a new historical stage—the stage of large-scale, planned construction. The commemoration of Youth Day, therefore, took on special significance. While celebrating this day, Chinese youth are actively preparing for the Second All-China Youth Congress and the Second National Congress of the New Democratic Youth League of China, which will be convened in June this year. These congresses will define the orientation and tasks of the youth movement in the new stage of national construction, the tasks of educating the Youth League members and the broad masses of youth to develop their creative initiative under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao, and, together with the whole people, to defend the great Motherland and strive for her industrialisation.

Explorers of Hidden Riches*

Over the vast territory of China, in places never before trodden by man, there are now often seen groups of travellers. Climbing hazardous mountains and wading through streams and living in the wilds, sometimes for months and months on end, these people have come to the remotest parts of the country to probe the hidden riches that have lain undisturbed for centuries. The people rightly call them "pioneers" of the country's economic construction, for in their footsteps will arise numerous new factories and mines, railways and highways, reservoirs and power stations, on a gigantic scale.

Treasures that Did Not Belong to the People

The old China was described as "a beggar with a gold alms-bowl." Many people were bitter about the fact that, for all her vast territory and rich resources, China was unable to free herself from privation and want. True, there were some people who dreamed of exploring the underground treasures, and a few others who even carried out geological work. But all hopes could only turn into despair when the Kuomintang reactionaries were treacherously selling out the nation's resources to the foreign imperialists.

Anyone who ever concerned himself with the mineral wealth of China can never forget the popular belief that China had but poor oil reserves. Authorities were cited, and theories referred to, in affirming this view. Investigations made after liberation, however, have shown with ample proof that China abounds in this essential material. All the suppositions of the past had only one aim: to create a highly profitable market for the oil products of the imperialist countries.

In semi-feudal and semi-colonial China, geological workers were shut behind academic doors and their studies confined to palaeontological researches. Practical work was almost unknown, so that up till three or four years ago, the real state of China's underground resources was still unknown.

New Prospective for Geological Workers

Three years is but a drop in the ocean of history. Yet during this time China's geological work has gone much further than in any other historical period. At the Tayeh iron mine, Hupeh province, for instance, as much geological work was done in eight months last year as in the sixty years since the working of the mine began.

Fruitful results have already been achieved. New finds have been reported daily from various parts of the country. The coal reserves in Northeast China alone have been proved to be ten times greater than the previously accepted estimates. A large coal field has been discovered in the coal-mining area of Kiangsi province that will have great importance for industry in Central-South China. One of the big iron ore mines of North China is now known to have a reserve ten times greater than had been supposed. Extensive new data have been gathered about the iron ore and magnesium deposits in the Northeast, China's greatest steel centre.

In their effort to locate the hidden treasures of the nation, geologists have found helping hands among the broad masses of the people. The Ministry

* See back cover for illustrations.

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of Geology is constantly receiving letters from young and old, reporting new finds of ores. In Northeast China, the search for minerals has grown into a patriotic mass movement. Five shepherd boys in the mountains of Kirin province recently discovered a rich deposit of antimony in that area and a new mine now stands on the site of the discovery.

This year, with the commencement of China's first five-year plan, work in the geological field will be on an even bigger scale. There will be ten times more drilling operations than in 1952, twenty-three times more trenching and twenty times more underground exploration, while the area to be geologically surveyed will increase tenfold.

This spring, an army of almost ten thousand geological workers set out to various parts of the country for a deep and far-flung investigation of China's mineral deposits. The number of geological and palaeontological teams working in the field has increased to the present eighty or more as compared to the twenty-nine in 1950. Many of these parties are equipped with the most up-to-date machines, sometimes with laboratories to conduct experiments and workshops to repair the boring machines right on the spot.

A Hard Battle

The geological workers are well aware of the great responsibilities placed on their shoulders, and they work with the utmost enthusiasm.

Here we shall mention the story of Team No. 241, which belongs to the Ministry of Geology, and of which young people make up a good part.

The team has been working in a certain mountainous region in North China, where a rich iron ore mine is located. Life was extremely hard for these "pioneers" when they came here in 1950. There were neither houses nor water, and they had to set up tents and sink wells with their own hands. The working site being quite isolated from the outside world, everything the workers needed had to be transported from a town over a hundred kilometres away. In the rainy autumn season when the muddy roads made traffic more difficult, the workers had to live on short supplies, sometimes going without such essential food as salt and vegetables. Even more intolerable were the winter days, when the temperature fell far below freezing point and the field work had to go on without interruption.

The "pioneers" have shown wonderful perseverance in conquering all these hardships. In this respect, the seventy-odd Youth League members are highly spoken of among the team. Nineteen-year-old League member Chiang Pei-ning is one of those well-known figures on the work site. Once, on a night shift, he led a drilling group to work on the derrick. It was in the depth of winter, the thermometer reading forty degrees below zero. Though with their fur-lined coats and gloves on, the workers could not help shivering with cold. Three big stoves were set up around the derrick, but the heat was too little to make itself felt. It would be better if the drillers were working on the ground, in which case they could warm their hands every other moment at a stove placed by their side. But now they were working on the derrick twelve and a half metres high to screw up the drilling rods, so that they had to take the trouble of coming down every two or three minutes to take the chill off their fingers.

Work dragged on very slowly, and there was a danger that the task could not be accomplished in time. At this prospect, Chiang Pei-ning was greatly troubled. Calling on his fellow workers not to lose any time, he himself stubbornly clung to the job and, his fingers having lost all sense of feeling, kept on turning the drilling rods with his palms instead.

That night, altogether some twenty pieces of drilling pipes had been assigned to the group for screwing. Chiang alone had done more than ten pieces, each consisting of three 3-metre-long rods.

The young workers are not only brave in work, but also keen in studying technique. Again take Chiang Pei-ning for instance. He came here as an apprentice in drilling. After thirteen months of diligent study, he showed remarkable competence in work and was promoted to group leader. Furthermore, he passed on his knowledge to two other apprentices, who thus succeeded in raising their technical level to that of a group leader within seven months—nearly one half the time it had taken Chiang himself to do so!

The workers ardently draw on the advanced Soviet experiences. The drilling brigade led by young Liu Hsun has learned the Soviet high-speed drilling method, by which they overfulfilled their production quota. Now they are making efforts to popularize the Soviet method of cleaning drill holes with clay fluids.

As a result of the selfless work of the "pioneers", already fifteen drill holes with a total depth of over 4,500 metres had been made by the end of last year. Up to the present time, enough data have been collected to prove that the iron ores here are of a high grade, and that they are so deposited as can be readily explored by means of the up-to-date open face mining method. It is being planned to erect a gigantic iron and steel plant in the vicinity of this mine area.

Now the work site is no longer a place of desolation as it was three years ago. Apart from the increased number of machines and equipments, there

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are a repair shop, a storehouse, a dining hall, a bath-house, a library, a cooperative store, dormitories and other establishments for the workers, as well as a road running to a nearby railway. This year will witness an even more rapid development of work. The scope of drilling operations alone will increase tenfold compared with last year.

Thousands More to Join Their Ranks

Although much has already been done by the geologists in the past three or four years, work in this field still lags behind the needs of China's large-scale economic construction. To make up this deficit, thousands of new personnel are being trained in this branch of science. New colleges of geology have been established in various parts of the country. Under the Kuomintang rule, the geological departments of the universities were poorly equipped, had few professors and students were offered courses in general theory only. By contrast, the new Peking College of Geology alone already has a student body which far exceeds the total number of geology students of the whole country in the past. It has departments of mineralogy and petrology, general survey and prospecting, hydro-geology, engineering geology and geophysical exploration. Large quantities of laboratory equipment have been ordered. Ten teams of students led by experienced instructors have already brought back 120,000 specimens for the college's own use. During the next few years, the student body will be increased manyfold.

The eagerness with which the young people plunge into geological studies promises a bright future for China's geological development. This is what Wang Yi-sheng, a student of the Geological Department of the Northwest University, has to say about his feelings: "We love every inch of our homeland, and we're filled with confidence in our future career. We feel proud that we'll become 'pioneers' in our country's economic construction. . . . When we think that two years from now we'll be travelling over our boundless territory to explore the inexhaustible riches of our motherland, we are even more energetic and happier in our studies."

Young Builders on Futseling

Our Special Correspondent

A truck took me to the Futseling Hill, about 17 kilometres to the southwest of Huoshan County town, Anhwei Province. It was a sunny day in April. The hillsides were studded with fiery red flowers in full bloom. The Pi River, in which was reflected the cloudless sky, skirted the hills like a winding blue ribbon. Here a reservoir was being built, one of the many undertakings of the Huai River Project.

The Futseling was a scene of seething activity: over ten thousand people engaged in intense labour, hundreds of roaring machines, trains of tip-waggons running on a network of narrow-gauge railways. Yet how could one imagine that this valley had been a haunt of wild animals only two years ago?

"Inhabitants here were few and far between," a young worker, who seemed to have lived somewhere in these parts, told me during his break. "We often saw tigers coming down the river side in the mornings. After nightfall, we'd shut our doors tight, for fear that the wolves might enter the house and seize the children. But now the wild beasts have been scared away by the explosions and the roar of machines."

A Great Plan to Transform Nature

The Pi River is a tributary to the south of the Huai River. With its source in the Tapieh Mountain, it winds its way through many steep gorges, flowing gently for most of the year. But beneath its calm surface danger lies. When the rainy season sets in, huge torrents will sweep down the mountains and pour into the river, overflowing the banks of its lower reaches and adding to the flood of the main water-course of the Huai. Since time immemorial, this has caused repeated crop failures over a vast area of fertile land.

Reactionary rulers in the past never thought of averting this disaster. Today, under the people's regime, the blind forces of nature are being subjugated to man's will. The dam now under construc-

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tion at Futseling aims at forming a natural reservoir in the valleys. Covering an acreage of 23 square kilometres, it will hold 500 million cubic metres of water, which, when needed, can again be used for irrigation. Thus, more than 33,000 hectares of land will be guaranteed rice harvests and brought under winter cultivation for wheat. In addition, the harnessed water is capable of generating up to 8,000 kilowatts of electric power for industrial and civilian purposes.

"Learn While You Work!"

The building of a dam for such a huge reservoir is naturally a complicated job, which requires high technical standards and has never been tackled before in China's history of water conservancy.

With multiple arches, the dam will be 516 metres long and 70 metres high. At first, some engineers doubted as to whether some precise calculations concerning this structure could be made at all. But Tsao Tsu-sheng and Wang Min-lien, two young technicians graduated from college not long ago, had complete confidence in the task. Drawing on Soviet experience and carrying out research work by themselves, they finally made the calculations with the help of the workers.

I had the opportunity of meeting Wang at the construction site. He is a thick-set, suntanned and taciturn youth. I asked him how he could have coped with such a difficult job. "By learning," he said laconically.

Yes, all builders here are learning and working at the same time, and that's why they often refer to the construction site as "Futseling University." When work started in early 1952, there were only about 1,000 technical workers here. In the course of a year, this "Futseling University" turned out a new technical personnel of 2,000, who are now masters of hundreds of machines of various descriptions.

"I was a peasant and had never seen this sort of machine before," a young worker said to me, pointing at a concrete-mixer. "I was not a little puzzled the first time I saw it. Then the Party organizer came up and said to me, 'Learn while you work!' After some time, I could handle the machine as easily as I did the plough back home." And this was the same case with others at Futseling. I came across some young builders clothed in yellow-green uniforms. They were members of the People's Liberation Army. Many of them, I was told, had fought guerrilla wars in the Tapieh Mountain against the Japanese invaders and later in the world-famous Huaihai Campaign against the U.S.-equipped Kuomintang forces in 1948. Having wiped out these enemies, they were now waging another fierce battle, this time against Nature. With unmatched courage and perseverance, they have quickly learned how to operate pneumatic drills and lay narrow-gauge railways.

A Women's Brigade

My attention was drawn by a group of girls at work on a boring machine. This is the nationally-known "March 8th" Boring Brigade, the first of its sort in China. It consists of 17 girls, all under the age of 23.

A girl dressed in a greasy overall with two swaying plaits was lifting up the brake bar, while another jotted down some figures in her record book. A third was standing on the frame, shouting something to her fellow workers above the din of the turning machine. When she got down, I ventured to ask her how she felt at such a dizzy height. "Nothing different from on the solid ground," she said cheerfully. "But the first time I climbed, my legs felt rather weak. I held fast unto the frame, as if a light puff of wind would bring me down. Now we've all got used to climbing."

"These girls work just as well as men," an old technician named Liu Wen-ping told me. "When

A multiple arch dam will rise here across the Pi River to form a big reservoir

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Women workers studying the boring machine

they came here last May, I must say that I wondered if this heavy job would suit them. But in three months, they mastered the technique of boring, which had taken me three years to learn in the past! They studied with such enthusiasm that on many occasions I had to stop them from overworking. But it was no use. One midnight, the boring machine broke down and I was woken up to repair it. When I set out for the working site, I heard footsteps behind me. It was the girls, who had heard about the incident and got out of bed! 'You aren't needed there.' I said to them. 'Better go back to sleep. You've a lot of work to do tomorrow.' But they followed me doggedly. 'Let's just watch how you repair the machine so we can learn a thing or two. How can we get to sleep when missing such a good chance? We won't interfere with your work, to be sure.' Well, when I set the machine to rights, the girls showered me with questions: what's gone wrong with the drilling rod, how do you get it out, and so on and so forth. I conducted a course on repairs right on the spot, and at such a time of the night! When the class was over, it was already daylight." I could see that the old man was very proud of these hard-working girls.

Creative Labour

The builders of Futseling are learning new techniques and creating new ways of doing things. During the past year, they have put forward a total of over 400 rationalization proposals and thereby saved 7,000 million yuan for national economy. For their outstanding feats of labour, 176 builders have been honoured with the title of model workers. Shao En-lu, a young technician of the No. 1 Boring Brigade, improved the machine and increased threefold its rate of revolution. A brigade of pneumatic drill operators utilized 100,000 pieces of waste bit and saved 900 million yuan. A group of masons invented a machine for sifting stones and saved 2,000 million yuan . . . .

I arrived at Futseling when all workers there were in the thick of an emulation drive in honour of the coming May Day. They were greeting their own festival with new labour records. A group of workers from Shanghai had just completed the installation of some sluice gates 12 days ahead of schedule. A brigade of concrete workers, in close cooperation with the transport workers, could then fill in 30 cubic metres of cement in each shift, or one and a half times as many as they could before. The navvies had doubled, and in some cases trebled, the efficiency of their excavating work.

As a result of this enthusiasm and creative labour, the dam is gradually rising from the ground, steady and foursquare. After a few months, there will stand in this valley a giant of concrete and steel, preventing floods from destroying crops, lighting up men's happy faces and setting numerous machines in motion.

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The Girl at the Switchboard

The day shift had just begun at the Long Distance Telephone Exchange of the Tientsin Tele-communications Office. As usual, 22-year-old Kuo Hsiu-yun was at the switchboard right on time. She put on her earphones and began to operate the keys with her left hand even before she had time to sit down. The nimble motions of her fingers reminded one of a skilled pianist. There are quite a few things an operator has to attend to: calling, listening, operating the dial and the keys, connecting and disconnecting the circuits. . . . But to Kuo Hsiu-yun doing all this presented no difficulty. As though magically, the thick files of tickets on her board were quickly disappearing, while she kept herself well at ease all through her work. Whereas it took an ordinary operator on the average 237 seconds to connect a call, Kuo Hsiu-yun did it in only 81.78 seconds.

Kuo Hsiu-yun has been working at this exchange since 1945, when she was 15 years old. In the days of reactionary rule, she was looked upon as something of a robot, a part of the machine. Day in and day out she repeated the same mechanical movements at the switchboard and considered her work dry and dull. In fact, constantly humiliated and threatened with dismissal, the girl had even begun to loathe her job. Moreover, meagre wages coupled with soaring prices made even a mere subsistence difficult.

After liberation, Kuo Hsiu-yun began to notice a new world about her. The gangmasters who had once tyrannized the workers disappeared. The new foremen, elected from among the workers themselves, showed vital concern for the interests of the workers. Whenever a problem arose, whether of administrative or technical nature, the workers were always asked to speak out their opinion. Prices became stable, and the workers' wages were constantly on the increase. For the first time, Kuo Hsiu-yun tasted the joy of living, and with it the joy of working.

In the winter of 1949, Kuo Hsiu-yun was given a chance to attend a short-term training course, where she acquired fundamental knowledge relating to the history of social development and Chinese revolution. She came to appreciate the meaning of labour and the noble responsibilities of the working class towards the society. It was not true, she realized, that the work of a telephone operator held no future, as she had always believed. Work that served the people was always valued highly by the people.

As never before, Kuo Hsiu-yun put her heart into her work. But at that time she still could not see any possibilities of going any farther than just connecting and disconnecting telephone circuits in the same old way. "If you're to create or invent anything," she thought, "you've got to have lots of theoretical knowledge. For an ignorant person like me, I don't think there's any sense in dreaming of such things."

Facts, however, gradually changed her ideas. After the liberation, countless numbers of model workers emerged from among the ranks of the ordinary working people, people who differed little from her either in age, intelligence or nature of the work they were doing. What really mattered, she found, was that these model workers, spurred by patriotism, had a will to conquer difficulties, to exploit every and all ways and means to produce more for the nation. So she decided that she could improve her work also if she only tried.

One day, a man asked to be connected with a leading cadre of a certain government office in Peking. Kuo Hsiu-yun kept trying for four days, but failed owing to some trouble with the latter's telephone. Filled with anxiety, the applicant pleaded:

"Comrade operator, mine's really a very urgent business call, but I'm too busy here to go to Peking personally. Can't you find a way out?"

Formerly, there was nothing unusual in that a call could not be put through for several days. But now things were different from what they had been. Kuo Hsiu-yun thought of the leading cadres of government organs who toiled day and night for the good of the people, of the serious effects that might be caused by failure to keep them informed in time. Urged by a strong feeling of responsibility, she racked her brain for a way out. At last, she succeeded in reaching the person called through another telephone at his office. The party calling up Peking could not thank her enough for her good service.

For a long time afterwards, Kuo Hsiu-yun kept reflecting on this incident. She realized more clearly than ever before that she was doing something really very important, something to be proud of. For years, her accordion had been her only joy in life. But now she was just as happy with her old, once thoroughly disliked companion—the switchboard.

In 1950, she was transferred to another position, responsible for passing and receiving calls to and from Shanghai. Traffic was much heavier here, and often more tickets piled up than could be disposed of. Kuo Hsiu-yun was greatly disturbed by this situation. At the end of each day, there always remained a few calls that had not been put through. As she cancelled or postponed these calls to a later

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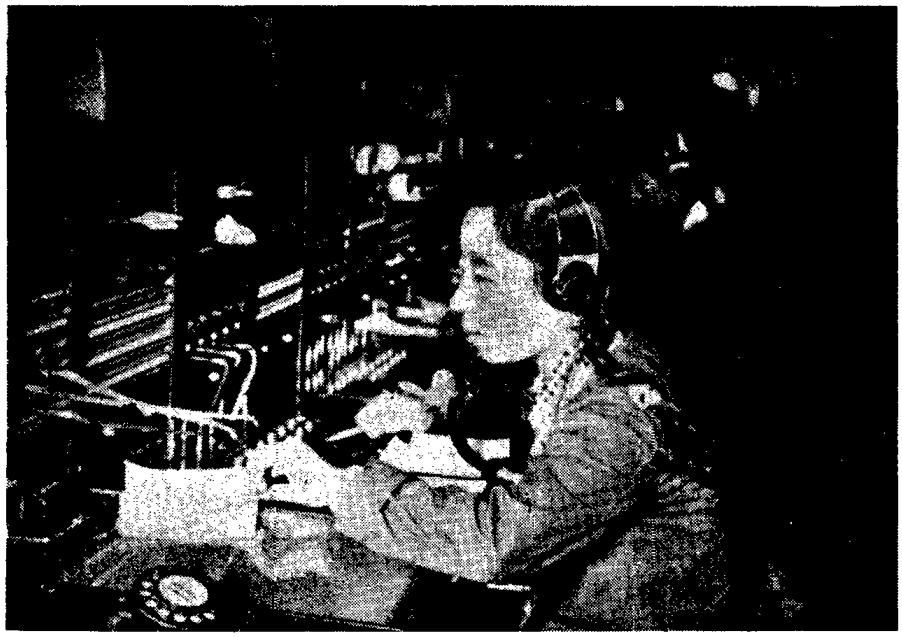

Model worker Kuo Hsiu-yun whose operating method is being spread throughout the country

date, the anxious faces of the callers would float before her eyes. She tried to work faster, but only made more mistakes. Once she was even criticized by an operator at the other end for her inaccuracy in timing conversations.

The cause of the error, she later found out, lay in the fact that there was no proper system worked out of timing conversations. So she began to pay particular attention to this matter. Every time after a call had been put through, she would keep monitoring over the line in order to calculate more accurately the time elapsed. This she managed quite well, but soon she encountered new difficulties.

Kuo Hsiu-yun was in charge of four circuits. Important as monitoring over these circuits was, it was after all but a part of an operator's work. For instance, while monitoring over one of the circuits, she could hardly at the same time devote her attention to working on another circuit, such as putting through a long-distance call. She often felt lost, especially when signal lamps flashed angrily, demanding to be quickly attended to. "If I could only attend to two circuits at a time!" she was wrapped up with anxiety.

After many a sleepless night, Kuo Hsiu-yun recalled an incident.

It had happened some time ago. She was holding the key at the talking position to speak with a long-distance operator on the other side, when someone by her side suddenly asked her a question. Turning about to answer, Kuo Hsiu-yun operated another key to the monitoring position, meaning to cut off the connection with the distant terminal office. Strangely enough, however, she could still hear the voice of the other operator. This surprised her but she did not mind it very much then.

Moved by a desire to improve her work, she now began to ponder over the matter. "Doesn't this show that it is possible to do two different things simultaneously over two circuits?" she asked herself.

Her idea turned out to be practicable. With one key in the monitoring position and another in the speaking position, she found that she could put long-distance calls on one circuit and simultaneously monitor over another Similarly, she saw that she could do other things while checking on the circuits by turn. Thus she got along with her work with far greater ease than before.

But Kuo Hsiu-yun was not satisfied with what she had achieved. She was now considering another problem: how to make the best use of the limited number of circuits in order to meet the demands of the growing traffic.

To achieve this, she decided to reduce the time needed to connect a call. Before putting a call through, she would first notify the operator on the other side of the calls coming after, so that after the connection had been completed, the latter, making use of the time when the conversation was going on, might get the next call through. Kuo Hsiu-yun then kept monitoring, and when she saw that the conversation was drawing to a close, she would make arrangements for the next call. In this way, calls were always promptly put through and followed one another without interruption. The circuits were no longer wastefully engaged by the operators, but were available to long-distance callers almost all the time —52 minutes out of every hour when three circuits were in operation!

Kuo Hsiu-yun is against everything that impedes the progress of work. She opposes operators who pay less attention to inward calls. These people care only for the narrow interests of their own office, since in the cases of inward calls, the charges are collected by the other side. Their reluctance to receive assignments, she considers, is a stumbling block to smooth tele-communications service.

Kuo Hsiu-yun holds that in the interests of the subscribers, the operators of both terminals should co-operate closely with each other. She always tries her best not to inconvenience the operator on the

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other side. Every time a call is over, she first turns the splitting key to the neutral position and contacts the other operator, and only then turns to the work left behind by the finished call. As a result, the operator on the other side seldom finds any difficulties in passing calls to her.

The whole nation followed Kuo Hsiu-yun's successes with keen attention. Her working methods have been summarised after three months of systematic study by the Ministry of Posts and Tele-communications and the National Committee of the Chinese Postal, Telegraph and Telephone Workers' Trade Union. Steps are being taken to apply her working methods to twenty tele-communications offices in the major cities of the country. It has been estimated that the adoption of Kuo Hsiu-yun's working methods by a long-distance telephone circuit will enhance its efficiency by 22.62 per cent, and consequently, if her working methods are applied on all the trunk lines of the country, the effect produced will be equivalent to that of a 22.62 per cent increase in the equipment of these lines. In other words, it will mean a saving of 387,300 million *yuan* in the state's expenditure for capital construction.

Kuo Hsiu-yun's brilliant achievements have won her the title of Model Worker, apart from bonuses. In October 1952, she was admitted into the New Democratic Youth League. Later, her fellow workers elected her member of the Administrative Committee of the Tientsin Telecommunications Office as well as chief of the Women Workers' Department of the Trade Union Council.

Kuo Hsiu-yun has set a fine example to her colleagues all over the country, who are not only studying her advanced working methods but are also emulating her spirit of responsibility, her high enthusiasm for labour, her ardent desire to serve the people.

Chinese Delegates Give Their Impressions of the International Conference for the Defence of the Rights of Youth

I feel it a great honour to have participated in the great gathering of the world youth—the International Conference for the Defence of the Rights of Youth. The Conference enabled me to acquire a better understanding of the situation of our young friends in other countries, as well as to appreciate more fully the significance of the happy life we Chinese young people are living.

During the Conference, we had friendly talks with some young delegates from other countries, who told us about their own life. A Canadian girl spinner said that she was having a hard time at home. Women workers in Canada, she remarked, are paid less than men, though they do the same work. With the meagre wages, they cannot even buy enough bread. Still worse are the conditions of youth, who are deprived of the opportunity to study, and are made to toil all day long without knowing what will become of them in the future. "To demand improved living conditions, we'd a strike some time ago," she said. "For that, I was arrested and jailed for over two months. Since then, I've been unemployed."

We shared her anger on hearing her story, which bore much resemblance to our own past. Liberation put an end to our miserable days, and made possible a better and better life for us.

Take the case of my working place—the Long Distance Telephone Exchange of the Tientsin Telecommunications Office. Apart from the increasing wages, which are paid according to work done irrespective of age and sex, we can say a lot about the welfare for the workers, particularly for the women workers. Here we have rooms specially set aside for working mothers to breast-feed their babies; a roomy nursery with a full staff of ten or twenty, including the doctor and the nurses; two mess halls, one for ordinary workers and the other for women workers after childbirth and for those who need special diet; a spacious playground with a variety of sports equipment; a cosy club which will be expanded before long; a spare-time rest home which is being set up. The management also pays great attention to our studies. Teachers have been specially employed to run our spare-time classes.

And I thought of myself. A girl of only twenty-two, formerly a "low-bred" sort of person, and now a model worker hailed by the people! Could this ever have happened if it were not for the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Chinese Communist Party? And could I ever have had the honour of taking part in such an important meeting as the International Conference for the Defence of the Rights of Youth?

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I remember the seeing-off party specially held in our office before my departure for the Conference. The responsible comrades of the Party, the Youth League, the Trade Union and the management all expressed their congratulations, bidding me to do my best in the Conference. All my fellow workers asked me to bring to the Conference their desire for peace and their wishes for the success of the Conference. To express their support for the Conference, they pledged to redouble their efforts in work.

But I learned entirely different experiences from young friends of capitalist and colonial countries, who had to break through all kinds of barriers to come to Vienna. The Italian delegates said that thirty out of the forty persons who had wanted to come had been refused passports. Only two Cuban delegates had managed to get to the Conference. In Japan and Syria, none of the delegates could obtain passports.

All this impressed me very much. At the Conference, I gave a report on the happy life of the Chinese young people, their zealous labour for the building up of their country, their ardent desire for peace, their concern and support for the struggles of their brothers and sisters in other lands for a better life. Those at the meeting listened with great interest. After I had finished my report, they swarmed around me, kissed and embraced me warmly. We were all deeply moved. We had no words to express our feelings, but we understood what we had to say: peace, friendship, solidarity!

It is with these important aims that we have returned from Vienna. For my part, I will do all in my power to help consolidate the fruits of the Conference. I will work even harder to make my motherland still stronger and more prosperous, as my contribution to the cause of peace, the creation of a better future for youth and all mankind.

—Kuo Hsiu-yun

The reports I heard at the International Conference for the Defence of the Rights of Youth give me much food for thought. Being a peasant myself, I'm particularly concerned with the peasants' fate in colonial and dependent countries. A Japanese delegate told how vast stretches of farmland in his country had been turned into aerodromes by the U.S. occupationists and many young peasants recruited into the army to serve as cannon fodder for the aggressors. In many other countries, diseases are rife in the countryside, taking heavy tolls. Upon hearing all this, I couldn't help recalling my own past, which is comparable in many respects to the present conditions in these countries.

Before the liberation, my family in Kiangsi province had toiled for the feudal landlords for generations, without gaining an inch of land which might be called its own. I myself had to serve the landlord as a cowherd from early childhood. Undernourished and often spending the night on the dewy meadow, I once fell ill at the age of eleven. The landlord drove me home, lest I should die and thus "bring an ill omen" to his mansion. Mother sat day and night by my bedside, weeping. What could she do for me? There was no doctor around. To send for one in the town was out of the question, for he wouldn't come down to an out-of-the-way village except by sedan-chair and we couldn't afford the travelling expenses and medical fees. Fortunately, a relative of mine came up and brought me back to health with some sort of curative herbs.

But such tragedies will not occur now. There's a medical centre in our village and the two medical workers there are ready to go to visit the patient at a moment's call, free of charge. Last autumn, when my wife gave birth to a child, two mid-wives came to my house from the county town. Wang Shu-ching, one of the members of my agricultural producers' cooperative, had much to say on this occasion, for his wife died in 1947 in childbirth, together with her baby.

"The reactionary regime brought us poverty and death, but the Communist Party brings us prosperity and life," Wang said with deep emotion.

Yes, ours is a life of plenty, simply because we've become masters of the land and our own destinies. Since the agarian reform, I've harvested one rich crop after another, which no longer go to fill the landlord's barns. With the surplus grain, I've built a new house and bought my family new clothes. While there was no educational service in my village in the past, now there are three primary schools and 21 literacy classes, one of which I attend regularly.

I've been elected a member of the County People's Government Council and also a representative to the All-Circles People's Representative Conference of Kiangsi Province. In these organs of state power, I can voice the peasants' opinions on production and on their own well-being.

Of course, the economic and political rights we're enjoying did not drop into our hands by themselves. They were hard won, through long-term struggles led by the Chinese Communist Party. To defend these rights, we need peace, which must also be fought for, so that the crops, the fruits of our free, creative labour, will not be destroyed in the flames of war!

—Chen Yi-ko

Upon my return to Peking from Vienna, I came to the school where I teach. To my surprise, I did not find my students in the place where they used

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to be. They were studying in the 32 classrooms housed in a newly erected building! I was less than two months absent from the school, yet it had changed almost beyond recognition. In front of this new building, I thought of many others that had also sprung up throughout the country in this short period of time. Then my mind went beyond the boundary of my homeland. I recalled what the delegates from many countries said at the International Conference for the Defence of the Rights of Youth. This is the general picture of education in these countries: reduction of expenditures for culture and education, school curriculums gradually adapted to military purposes, unemployment for college graduates, teachers discharged from school. . . . This strikes a sharp contrast with the state of affairs in China, where the number of students is increasing from year to year. Now there are 202,000 college students, or nearly 70 per cent over the pre-war peak level. The secondary and primary school enrollments are double those of 1949, and all college students and a great part of the secondary school students are now receiving stipends from the state. Graduates do not have to worry about their jobs. In fact, there is a shortage of intellectuals in every field of national construction now in full swing.

We teachers are entrusted with a very responsible work, the work of educating youth to be patriotic and internationally-minded citizens and competent builders of the country. I deem that the best way to defend the rights of youth is to do my work well, for a younger generation well-educated will add greatly to the strength of democracy and peace.

—Shen Hsung-yuan

I am a girl of Tibetan nationality. We Tibetan people were discriminated against in the days of the Kuomintang rule, and it was the Communist Party of China that enabled us to get on our feet. Recently, as a representative of the Tibetan youth, I had the chance to attend the International Conference for the Defence of the Rights of Youth. This is something I never dreamed of before.

At the Conference, I was particularly concerned about the problem of racial discrimination which, as I learned through the reports given by some delegates, is of grave importance in the capitalist, colonial and dependent countries. In the U.S., for instance, young negroes doing the same work as whites can earn only 30-40 per cent as much as the latter. In South Africa, the wages of young local miners are only about one-tenth of those of the white miners. The imperialists want to foster ignorance among the minority nationalities. In the U.S., the proportion of illiteracy is ten times higher among the negro people than among the white. The colonialists forbid the people of the colonial and dependent countries to use their own language, in an attempt to obliterate the history and culture of these nations.

These facts brought my memory back to the days of the Kuomintang regime, when we Tibetans suffered in very much the same way under the Greater Nationalism fanned by the reactionaries. But things have completely changed since Liberation. As a result of the correct policy towards nationalities as laid down by the great Chairman Mao and the Chinese Communist Party, the areas inhabited by us Tibetans have taken on a brand new appearance. The People's Government has specially set up educational institutions for the national minorities, so that we can have equal opportunities to study with the Han youth.

Enrollment in these institutions is increasing day by day. Apart from receiving People's Scholarships, we students are also provided with food and clothing by the State. The People's Government has also sent a good number of teachers to our areas to help in establishing primary schools for those among us who never had any chance to attend school.

Now we have our own national autonomous government. United in the big family of the Motherland, we Tibetans, like people of all other nationalities, have bright days ahead of us.

—Peng Hsiu-hua

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The 1953 National Basket-Volleyball Tournament

Immediately after the May Day celebrations, Tientsin saw a big sporting event. From May 2nd to 13th the 1953 National Basket-Volleyball Tournament—the second of its sort since the liberation—was held in the city, accompanied by exhibition matches of lawn tennis and badminton.

The Tournament drew tens of thousands of people to the No. 2 Stadium, where in the latter half of April, some 800 builders had worked day and night and set up nine new stands. Before and after the daily programme, the streets leading to the stadium were crammed with traffic. Extra buses and trams were carrying sports fans from all corners of the city. Among them not a few had travelled long distances and come to the city specially to see the matches.

Tournament of a Mass Character

The four sports events were participated in by 447 outstanding players of the country Among them were workers from Shanghai, peasants from the sunny province of Kwangtung, herdsmen from the boundless grasslands of Inner Mongolia, minority people from the Northwest, as well as overseas Chinese just returned. The players, of whom 80 per cent were under the age of 25, represented nine units, namely, the People's Liberation Army, the railway workers, the six administrative areas of North, Northeast, East, Northwest, Central South and Southwest China, and the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region.

The PLA Team wins yet another goal over the railway players

Prior to this Tournament, a series of local contests had been held throughout the country, with tens of thousands of athletes taking part in them. In East China alone, about 15,900 players took part in the basketball competition. Four basket- and volleyball representative teams of this area, two men's and two women's, were selected after the finals held in Shanghai. Therefore, the Tournament in Tientsin, like all other national athletic meetings, was not an isolated event, but the climax of numerous sports events held on a national scale.

Ball Games Being Popularized

The All-China Athletic Federation, which sponsored the Tournament, is a mass organization that directs sports activities in China today. It is one of its tasks to promote physical culture by all possible means among the broad masses of the people. In the three years ending December 1952, the Federation and its branches, in coordination with the People's Government, sponsored 1,880 athletic meets at the county level and above, including the 1951 National Basket-Volleyball Tournament, the National Swimming Contests and the National Table Tennis Contests. In 1953, the Federation sponsored the National Skating Meet and the National Football Meet.

It should be noted that every athlete in China pays great attention to promoting sport among the masses. For this purpose, a group of athletes who participated in the XVth Olympic Games spent four months touring many parts of the country after their return home. Through 228 matches before a total of over 1,170,000 spectators, 115 lecture and discussion meetings with the local athletes and physical trainers, they have sharpened the people's interest in sports and exchanged experiences in carrying out work of physical culture and at the same time, conveyed the friendly wishes of the peace-loving athletes of various countries to the Chinese athletes.

The athletic meets and other concrete measures have greatly pushed forward sports activities, especially ball games, in various localities. Ball teams have sprung up in large numbers in schools, factories, government organs and villages. In Chungking, there are about 2,000 ball teams; in

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Hankow, about 3,000. Taishan county in Kwangtung province, where there is at least one volleyball team in every village, boasts of its excellent players who are the mainstay of the Central-South China Team. In Shanghai, the workers' ball teams enjoy wide popularity. Liu Erh-chu, a docker in this city, drew applause at the recent Tournament in Tientsin by his wonderful skill at basketball. He had this to say when speaking about his own sports life:

"I'd never touched a basket ball before the Liberation. How could I play with an empty stomach and after 12 hours of back-breaking toil? Only under the people's rule, when life is getting better day by day and when sport isn't a privilege of the rich few, can I devote my leisure hours to playing."

And his words well explain the reason why sport is developing by leaps and bounds among the labouring people in China today.

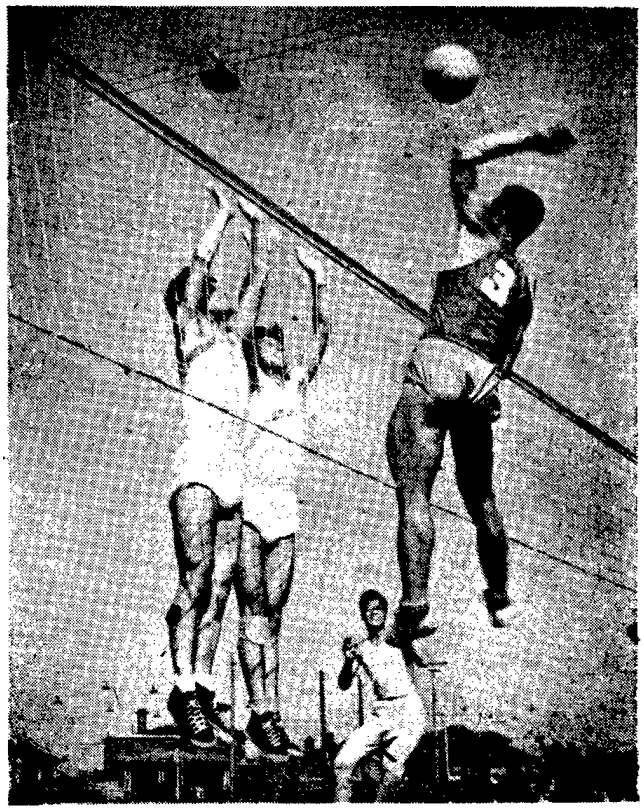
Stamina Plus Close Unity

All in all, 144 basket- and volleyball matches were played at the 12-day Tournament in Tientsin. The People's Liberation Army teams, characterized by close cooperation, speed and prowess, won all the champion titles in men's and women's basket- and volleyball.

The Tournament was highlighted by the thrilling PLA-East China contest in men's basketball, with the score standing at 136 to 90 in favour of the former. Lots of times, the attacking team would use the one-two-three formula of getting the rebound, a lightning, overhead pass to team-mates flying down the court and a lay-up shot at the opposite basket, but sometimes to no avail in face of the tight defence of the opponents. Under such circumstances the attacking side would blend fast breaks with a set attack and more complicated manoeuvres to get the ball in. The army team played a double pivot post game that finally foiled the strong East China defence. East China started off strongly and for almost the entire first half maintained a narrow lead of two or three points. Realizing that fast breaks alone would not get them anywhere, the armymen put up the pivot post play. After this points began to pile up for the armymen. With the 12,000 crowd, which is the capacity of the stadium, cheering them on, the armymen put in goal after goal with unfailing accuracy and lightning speed to win the game.

Good Sportsmanship

Heated and intense as all the matches were, a spirit of fraternity and mutual aid pervaded the sports grounds throughout the Tournament. Not a single "intentional foul" was played, nor any "protest" lodged with the referee. It was a common sight that a player who had accidentally bumped his opponent down would rush to help him up with sincere apologies. The losing side would hold out to the end with confidence and unflagging vigour even when the case seemed a hopeless one. At the end of each match, the two sides would line up and express in cheers their desire to learn from each other, followed by enthusiastic handshakes and embraces, amidst the spectators' cheers of appreciation. Judging from this epilogue alone, one could not tell who were the winners and who the losers.



This player from Central-South China gives one hard hit after another to the Northeast Team

After the matches, the players and trainers would put their heads together, not to grumble at their failures or to laud their victories, but to sum up experiences so that they might play better each time than the last. Very often, the contending parties would join the talk, pointing out one anothers' good and weak points in the most friendly and modest manner.

In fact, such good sportsmanship marks every contest in China, because sport in a country of People's Democracy only aims at making the younger generation healthy and capable of building up and defending their Homeland.

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Tsui Pa-wa Writes about His Past Life

Since the rapid method of learning Chinese characters started to be popularized, many illiterates throughout the country have learned in a short time the complicated ideographs of the Chinese written language. With from 1,500 to 3,000 characters at their command, they are able to read newspapers written in popular style. In the advanced courses of the literacy class, the students are often encouraged to write about their past life, which, wrought with the bitter sufferings they bore under the reactionary regime, furnishes them with good subject matter.*

Tsui Pa-wa, a young soldier of the People's Liberation Army, was still a semi-illiterate not long ago. After attending a literacy class, he has recently written a life-sketch of 30,000 words, from which the following story is extracted. Son of a farm labourer, the author had experienced to the full the hard life of the peasantry before liberation. When he was nine years old his father was actually forced to sell him to pay a debt to the landlord. His autobiographical work, though still crude in form, is an example of how quickly the talents of ordinary people, buried under the old society, are now emerging all over the country.

* See the article *The Rapid Method of Learning Chinese Characters* carried in the August 1952 issue of *Chinese Youth Bulletin.*

There was a drought when I was ten. The field didn't yield a single grain. By the next spring people had eaten up all the wild vegetables and tree leaves they could find. They had to stuff their stomachs with palm nuts and clay. Nobody knows just how many people died from constipation. My folks looked like skeletons, with deep sunken eyes. Dad said, "We can't eat that stuff any longer. Just look at the kids: they don't look like human beings at all. I've heard that the Chungs are eating wild ginger roots. Let's do the same." From then on, we went up everyday to the hillside digging up ginger roots for the day's meal. And when we were almost starved to death, the creditors came to visit us one after another.

It was a fine day. The sun had just risen above the treetops. I slung a basket over my back and was ready to go out to dig ginger roots when Erhnutze, the second daughter of the Mao family, came for the grains we had promised to pay her when we were sowing the seed the previous year. Carrying a wooden measure and followed by two men with baskets and poles, she strutted in haughtily and cried, "Old Tsui, it's time to pay your debts now, isn't it?"

She put the measure on the threshold, seated herself on a stack of hay with folded arms and glared fiercely at Dad. Dad hurriedly dusted a stool and said, "Please take a seat here."

Hardly had he finished when our guest frowned and waved her hand, "I don't care for this courtesy of yours. Hand over the grains quick. You said you would pay today. Well, I've come for them."

Dad heaved a deep sigh and sat wearily on the edge of the *kang*.* Ma came up and began pleading, "Please give us a couple of days more. We really can't help it. Look at my boys—all skin and bones. Our pan has long been empty. What can we pay you with?"

Upon hearing this, the woman jumped up, pushed back her wisps of hair and pounced upon Ma. "What? You think you can eat off me like this and get away with it, huh?" She dragged Ma by the sleeves and roared, "Go down to the dam with me. See if you drink all the water in the river!"

My brother and I flung ourselves at this woman and began scratching and beating her. But she suddenly slid to the floor like a child, messed her hair and pounded herself on the thigh.

"Aya!" she howled like a wolf. "You tricksters! You won't pay the debts and you hit me like this."

Sensing that a calamity was brewing, Dad turned to us in great exasperation. He took out a twig from a nearby wood pile and began letting it down on us, "You good-for-nothings. I wish you were dead!"

I dropped my basket and ran away. My brother received a lashing and rolled on the floor crying.

Dad turned to Erhnutze with an apologetic smile. "These are silly kids. Don't be offended. After all,

* The *kang* is rectangular in shape, made of mud-brick. The centre is hollow and heated by running through it the chimney of an adjacent stove. It is slept on at night and sat on during the day. During the warm weather its connection with the stove is blocked off.

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we aren't strangers. We're distant relatives, aren't we? Please calm down."

"Who's your distant relative?" The woman threw up her head and retorted. "I want grains. How dare you refuse and hit me like this?"

Working herself into a fury, she uttered a shriek and ran her head into Dad's chest.

"Go on beating me. You aren't a man if you don't strike me dead!"

Off guard and weak from an empty stomach, Dad was pushed far back. Before he had gained a foothold, Erhnutze again set on him, held unto his collar, cuffing and tearing at his face. Then she dragged him and shouted, "Let's go to the *Paochang** and see if you won't talk sense!"

This was the last straw to Dad. He pushed her off and bowled, "What a shameless wench you are! I've said everything. It isn't that I've got the grains and am holding them back from you. That you know yourself. After all, we aren't the only family that's suffering from this drought. What can I do? If you want to appeal to the government, go ahead." With that, my father went into the house.

Erhnutze did not yell now and there were no more tears on her face. She stood tongue-tied in the courtyard with the two men who had come with her. At this moment, Liu the Profit-maker came up swaggering. He was followed by some men with baskets. He was our landlord and had already come to us many times for the previous year's rent.

At the sight of Erhnutze he could more than half guess what was going on; but he looked as if he knew nothing and asked loudly, "What's the matter?"

Erhnutze turned her head, and seeing that it was Liu, she pointed at him and said, "Good. You've come just in time. This is a good tenant of yours! He doesn't pay debts and he even hit me. Well, since I can't get the grains from him, I'll get them from you. Your family eat well and drink well. I'm sure you can pay for him."

This put Liu out of temper. "What? I eat well and drink well?" he shouted. "You aren't any worse off yourselves. A family of three have scores of bushels of grains a year and you have got money to lend out at interest! What more do you want? Open your eyes and see what I've come here for." He took a couple of steps towards Dad and pointed his laquer stick at him. "Tsui the Deaf, what are you going to do? You told me to come today, remember. You haven't got any more excuses now!"

Dad cast a glance at him and mumbled in a flood of tears. "Master, my boys and I haven't even got enough ginger roots. What do you want me to pay you with?"

Liu lost patience and pulled Dad's head. "Don't invent excuses now. I've been square with you—I only ask you to pay your last year's rent. How now? Let's be straightforward. What are you going to do about it?"

"Master," Dad implored. "I've got nothing worth selling now. Even if you take my old bones you can't extract anything from them. I beg you. . . ."

Liu wouldn't listen any more and his grim face turned white. "What are you going to do about it?" he pronounced these words through his tight-set teeth.

Dad lowered his head in silence. Liu gave him a violent kick. "Are you dead? Answer me if you're still alive."

Seeing that Dad was silent, Liu the Profit-maker screwed up his eyes and looked into the house. "You've got nothing? Well, then get away from here."

He called out to his men. They swarmed into the house and immediately turned everything topsy-turvy, some taking down the pots and pans, the others making away with the bedding. Liu had not the slightest mercy on us. Although the whole family implored him, he was not a bit moved.

At the tumult our neighbour Wang Hsui-tze hurried over and did his best to dissuade Liu from locking up our house. It was only after repeated pleadings and apologies on the part of my father that Liu finally consented to give us three more days of grace.

After Liu left in a huff, Wang Hsui-tze took my parents aside and whispered something to them. That night, Ma sobbed unceasingly under her coverlet.

The next day, Dad took me to his knees and said with tears, "Sonny, I can't afford to feed you any longer. These are the days when the landlords have got plenty and the poor people none. The creditors have driven us into a tight corner. Ah, in order to keep the family alive a little longer, I've sold you to Cheng Tah-tou. . . ."

I felt a stab in my heart. The whole family burst out crying. My mother held out her arms to me and said, "Come. Let your Ma look at you once more. Take these last two pieces of ginger roots. Ma has nothing more to give you. From now on, you'll be a member of somebody else's family. Child, don't forget the care with which your mother has brought you up. . . ." Mother hugged me and wept. She was heart-broken.

As noon drew near, Dad steeled his heart and said, "Don't weep now. Tears won't do any good.

*** *Pao* was an administrative unit in Kuomintang and Japanese occupation days, consisting of a certain number of households. *Chang* means the chief.**

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We'd better leave." He came over and took me by the arm.

"I won't . . . I won't go to the Cheng's. Ma, I won't go. . . ." I held tightly unto Mother.

"My heavens! I . . . I've rent my own heart . . . my child. . . ."

I felt hot tears on my face. My little brother hugged my leg and cried, "I want my elder brother. I won't let him go. . . ."

Dad stamped his feet and said in sobs, "Child, your Dad's heart isn't made of iron. . . . Sonny, you're saving the whole family. Go and I'll think of a way to buy you back." With these words, he took me away from Mother.

A long way from home I could still hear Mother wailing hoarsely, "My heavens, I've sold my ten-year-old son. . . ."

We covered twenty *li* and on the way our tears never ceased to flow. As we approached the Cheng's, Dad told me to dry my eyes, for the Chengs wouldn't like to see me crying.

The noise of a banquet could be heard from the house. We were received by Cheng Tah-tou, who came out with his face twitched into a cynical smile. "Old Tsui, so you've come. Let's strike a bargain right now. Here're three piculs of grains, two to be handed over to Liu the Profit-maker and the remaining one to Erhnutze. Our accounts are now settled."

He gave me a tap on the head and said to Dad, "So puny and sold for three piculs! What's there to cry about? Still unwilling to part with him, eh? If so, take him back and go without the grains."

"No, no, I'm not crying," Dad hurriedly wiped his eyes with his sleeves.

Cheng Tah-tou cast a sideways glance at me and grinned, revealing a set of yellow teeth. "What are you crying about? Aren't you going to live in a palace? Ugh!"

From the backyard appeared the men who had come to my family the day before for the debt. They walked past me, carrying three piculs of grains with them.

Dad went home, without taking a meal. I followed him to the gate. He turned around and held my hands in his. "I'm not worthy of you, my child. Don't call me Dad any more. . . . I'm having a piece of my flesh cut off. What do you have to say to your Ma?"

I felt a lump in my throat and could say nothing. Dad gazed me for a while and went eastward in tears, all alone. Every few steps he would turn his head and look back. I stood there until he disappeared down a slope. I looked to the west and could still see the people who were carrying away the grains.

Remembering that Dad said people wouldn't like to see me crying, I sat down on the doorstep and wiped my eyes. But somehow I couldn't dry them.

At this moment, Cheng Tah-tou shouted, "Pawatze, you little dog! Where have you gone?"

I hurriedly wiped my eyes with my sleeve and moved slowly into the house.

Facts & Figures

National Youth Congresses to Be Convened

The Second All-China Youth Congress and the Second National Congress of the New Democratic Youth League of China will be convened on June 10th and June 20th respectively in Peking.

The coming Congresses will review the achievements and experiences of the youth movement during the four years since the first congresses were held in 1949.

The coming congresses are to be held at a time when China has entered a new epoch of large-scale, planned construction. The great new tasks of building up the country demand of the Chinese youth even greater creative initiative in work and study. The Youth League, in particular, is charged with greater responsibilities in playing its role as active assistant to the Communist Party of China. The holding of the congresses, therefore, will be of special importance in the youth movement of China.

The Second All-China Youth Congress will be attended by some 560 delegates, including workers, peasants, delegates from democratic parties and groups, minority nationalities, religious circles, the People's Liberation Army, Chinese People's Volunteers and overseas Chinese.

The League Congress will be attended by some 810 delegates. The main agenda of the Congress will include: 1) the work report by the Central Committee of the League; 2) the amendment of the League Constitution; 3) the election of the Central Committee of the League.

All delegates to the Congress will be elected through local congresses being held in all provinces and

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cities of the country. The holding of such local congresses is an important measure to further implement the decisions of the Third Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the League held in September last year. On the basis of criticism and self-criticism, it will further strengthen the work of the League and its democratic life and improve its leadership.

Chinese Youth Gets Ready for the World Youth Festival

Chinese young people are eagerly looking forward to the wonderful days in Bucharest, the beautiful city which is ready to welcome young men and women from every corner of the world.

Under the auspices of the All-China Federation of Democratic Youth, and with the help of other people's organisations concerned, a variety of activities within the framework of the Festival preparations have been under way for some time.

Young soloists, chorus singers, folk dancers, Chinese opera players and acrobats are busy rehearsing a wide range of cultural programmes. They wish to present the best they have before the young friends of other lands, programmes that will best represent the artistic and cultural wealth of the Chinese people, as well as their deep longing for peace. Young artists of China consider that the Festival cultural events will help youth of all countries achieve a better understanding of each other.

Young sportsmen, too, welcome the idea that youth of different countries should meet in friendly competitions in the athletic field. That is why they are putting great energy into their preparatory work. National basketball-volleyball tournaments, swimming contests, field and track meets have been held to pick the finest of China's sportsmen for the International Friendly Sports Meetings. Entrants to these national meets had been selected earlier in regional contests held throughout the country, and they included a broad section of people.

A photo exhibition is being arranged which will show the endeavours of the Chinese youth in peaceful construction, their happy life and the even better future before them, and their determination to unite with the world youth in the defence of peace. Gifts are also being prepared which will express the deep friendship between the youth of China and other lands.

Two pamphlets entitled "Chinese Youth Enjoys a Happy Life" and "Young Builders of China", a folder "Students of New China" and a song-book "Songs of New China" have been published. These will be brought to Bucharest as part of the gifts for our young friends from other countries.

The Chinese youth delegation to the Festival is now being formed. Composed of about four hundred members, it will be of a widely representative character. A cultural group and athletic teams will be included in the delegation.

By their active preparations, the youth of China pledge to contribute their best to the success of the Festival, that very important event in the life of the younger generation.

The Seventh All-China Congress of Trade Unions

The Seventh All-China Congress of Trade Unions was held on May 2nd—11th in Peking.

This was a congress of great historical significance in the working class movement of China. It was the first All-China Congress of Trade Unions held since the liberation of the mainland. And it was held at a time when our country had completed the restoration of its war-torn economy, and was embarking on large-scale planned economic construction.

"Our Motherland," said Comrade Liu Shao-chi, who greeted the Congress on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, "is at present entering upon a new historic epoch and has entrusted us with a new historic task, the task of carrying out the industrialisation of our country and the gradual transition to socialism." These words are clear indications of the tasks which lie ahead of our nation and our working class.

There were 813 delegates, who came from every corner of our vast Motherland, representing 10,200,000 organised workers. They came from the Steel City of Anshan, whose achievements on the production front fill every citizen throughout the country with pride, from the asbestos mines on the Sikang-Tibetan Plateau, from the oil-refineries in Sinkiang, from the famous Yumen oil-fields in Kansu, from the forests of Inner Mongolia, from the Huai River Project in the East, from the Tienshui-Chengtu Railway in the Northwest.

Louis Saillant, General Secretary of the World Federation of Trade Unions and trade union representatives from 20 countries attended the congress at the invitation of the All-China Federation of Labour.

The main report was given by Lai Jo-yu, Secretary General of the All-China Federation of Labour, who outlined the basic tasks of the trade unions. These were, he said, "under the leadership of the Communist Party, to unite and educate the workers, technical personnel and office employees, and continuously raise their level of consciousness and organisation; to consolidate the alliance of the workers and peasants, unite with the people of all other strata and actively fulfil the national plan of construction, and on the basis of developed production, to raise step by step the material and cultural well-being of the working class and the entire working people and to fight for the achievement of the industrial and Socialist future of our country."

After the main reports were given, speeches were made by trade unionists and labour models who reported on their work and achievements. There was Chu Fa-ti, a young textile worker from Shanghai who had entered the factory at the age of fourteen. She recalled with bitterness the past years, the long hours which she worked in return for wages which could barely keep her at subsistence level, the appalling working conditions and terrible living quarters. But today through her advanced working methods, she has become nationally

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famous. There was Peng Hsung-fu, a young technician from the Erh Ling San Factory of Kunming, who has devised a quick method of training unskilled workers to learn, within a period of three months, how to operate a certain type of lathe. There was Yang Mo-lin, a railway worker of the Northeast, whose improved methods of loading freight saved and created much wealth for the state. Shen Kuo-ying, a young textile worker from Wuhan, helped popularise Ho Chien-hsiu's working methods and created her own improved methods which have greatly reduced waste in cotton, and many others whose names are famous throughout the country for their achievements in labour. Indeed, it is only under such a system as People's Democracy that labour is valued.

The Congress passed resolutions fully supporting the report on the work of the Chinese Trade Unions, on the amendment of the constitution of the Trade Unions, on the report on Financial Work and a resolution in support of the calling of the Third World Trade Union Congress. A new leading body of the Trade Unions of China, the Seventh Executive Committee of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions was elected. Thus the Seventh All-China Congress of Trade Unions came to a successful close.

May 4th Celebrated All Over China

Young people throughout China joyfully celebrated May 4th, Chinese Youth Day and the 4th anniversary of the founding of the New Democratic Youth League of China.

In many cities, theatres provided special films and plays. Among the variety of activities were rallies, hiking, picnics and discussions. Exhibitions on the development of China's youth movement were also on display in many places. Elsewhere, special sports meetings were held for the young athletes. A great number of factories, schools and government offices invited model workers and combat heroes to give talks on their personal experiences.

In Peking, the May 4th activities were highlighted by a special performance given by the Polish State "Mazowsze" Folk Song and Dance Ensemble, which is now visiting China. Nearly 30,000 young people attended the performance.

On May 3rd, more than 4,500 young workers and students of the capital held a rally jointly with the delegates from the Chinese People's Volunteers and the People's Liberation Army men who came for the May Day celebrations. All present pledged themselves to maintain the militant May 4th tradition by their activities, their hard work and study.

In Mukden, thousands of young people, workers, students and soldiers spent the day in the woods outside the city. In Tientsin, more than 50,000 young people gathered in the parks to sing, dance and play games.

In Harbin, a big attendance of young people heard a lecture on the mastering of scientific knowledge and technique. In Chungking, young workers of the Central-South Rubber Plant assembled to discuss how to learn the advanced experience of Wei Yu-hsi, a young worker in Northeast China who had finished six months' work in three and had planned to complete the year's quota in six months.

The New Democratic Youth League admitted more new members on May 4, recommended for their consistent all-round efforts. In Peking University alone, more than 400 young people took their oath at the admission ceremony of the Youth League.

Education Advances among National Minorities

Outstanding progress in education has been achieved among the minority nationalities of China since Liberation.

Among the minority nationalities of Kwangsi Province in Central-South China, there are now three times as many middle-school students as in 1951. The number of minority students admitted into teachers' training schools has quadrupled. This province has also over 9,500 primary schools for children of the Chuang minority people in addition to peasants' spare-time schools with a total attendance of nearly half a million. The total attendance at primary schools specially set up for the children of the Miao and Yao nationalities has increased seven times compared with 1950.

In Northwest China, the total number of minority students is now 60 per cent greater than the 1951 figure. The number of primary students is more than 350,000. There are also more than 1,700 young people of various minority nationalities studying in institutions of higher learning in the areas. Last year alone, 850 graduates from those institutes took up posts in the various minority nationality areas. Some 740 new graduates of the Northwest Institute for Minority Nationalities are now ready to take part in building up the minority nationality regions.

Hundreds of thousands of textbooks in the various languages of the Northwest minority peoples are being published to meet the needs occasioned by this development in education. The Sinkiang People's Publishing House alone has published nearly 700,000 copies in the Uighur, Kazakh and Mongolian languages.

To further popularise education among the minority nationalities, primary schools have been established even in remote nomadic districts. Sparetime schools have also been established. In Sinkiang province, 650,000 herdsmen and peasants attended such schools last winter.

On the Pamirs, the lofty plateau on China's Northwest border, the Tajik and Khalkha children are studying in mobile elementary schools which move along with the herdsmen's tents in different seasons. There are now seven times as many Tajik school children as in pre-Liberation days and 22 times as many Khalkhas.

In the Yenpien Region in Northeast China, about 92 per cent of school-age children among the Korean nationals living there are now attending school. The Korean nationals also have a university of their own. The inhabitants of Inner Mongolia, too, will soon have a well-equipped one.

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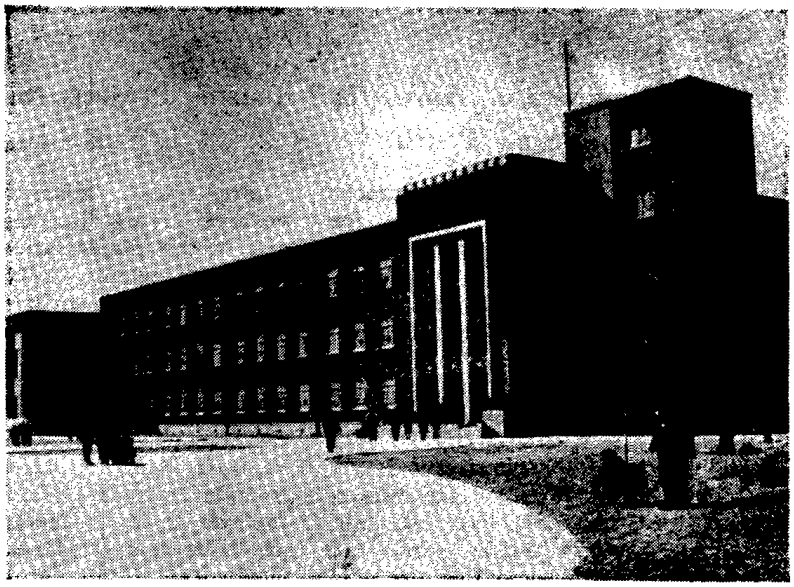
Explorers of Hidden Riches



Above: The newly established Northeast Geological Institute for training new personnel

Left: Young geological workers on a survey excursion

Bottom left: Locating a mineral deposit useful to China's developing industry

Bottom right: Chemical analysis in laboratory

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Large Numbers of Books for Students and Youth

Close on 200 million textbooks were published this spring for middle and primary schools and workers' and peasants' spare-time schools. The People's Educational Publishing House and its 16 branches are now working at top speed to turn out the huge number of textbooks required for next term.

This year, a total of 420 million copies of textbooks will be published. Nearly 30,000 tons of paper are earmarked for this purpose. This is an indication of the rapidly-increasing numbers of working people and their children now going to school.

This does not include the millions of copies of books to be put out in Korean, Mongolian, Tibetan, Uighur and Kazakh for the minority peoples.

The Youth Publishing House is also preparing to put out record numbers of books for young people and children this year. The total will come to nearly 27 million copies of 471 different titles. This is an increase of almost 50 per cent over last year.

These books will include popular novels and short stories, pamphlets on science, technology, physical culture, biographies of combat heroes and of model workers and peasants, and books on the Chinese youth movement and the New Democratic Youth League of China.

Chinese editions of the epic stories of Zoya and Shura and the biography of the Chinese peasant girl, Liu Hu-lan, which depict heroic figures of Soviet and Chinese youth, enjoy great popularity among Chinese children. Six hundred and ninety thousand copies of Zoya and Shura have been sold since their publication early last year.

The Youth Publishing House twice reduced book prices last year. Present prices are 20 per cent lower than in April, 1950.

Housing Projects for Workers in Full Swing

Large-scale construction of workers' living quarters is under way in the major cities of China.

In Shanghai, 4,000 modern homes have recently been built for the workers, and there will be 16,000 more to be completed this summer. For every 1,500 homes, there is to be a primary school and kindergarten. There will also be well-equipped children's playgrounds, medical clinics, cooperative stores, and bathhouses and all are to be completed and ready for the workers' families when they move in.

In Wuhan, large numbers of houses for workers have been completed. More than 30,000 workers and their families have moved into new, spacious and comfortable flats. Attached to these living quarters are clubs, reading rooms and gardens. On the average, a family of five occupies a flat of three rooms.

Thousands of new houses for Chungking's workers have been completed along the Kialing River. In Chengtu, sixteen big residential buildings with a total floorspace of 15,600 square metres to accommodate 512 workers and their families will be erected. A primary school, a cooperative and a park will also be built.

In Mukden, dozens of three-storied buildings with a total floorspace of 100,000 square metres, will be erected. When completed, the project will include residences, a general hospital, a maternity hospital, a nursery, primary and secondary schools, a department store, a park, a theatre, a recreation club, and an athletic field. It will accomodate 80,000 people.

Work on the big, modern workers' housing project in Anshan, called the Peace Estate, has begun. Most of the 220,000 square metres of floor space, which is the scheduled size of the total scheme, will be completed this year. All the houses on the Peace Estate will combine traditional architectural forms with modern facilities, including a water heating system which will be introduced on a large scale for the first time in the Northeast. Sound-proof materials will be used in the walls between rooms, which are planned to get maximum sunlight and air. Schools and nurseries, cooperatives, clinics and clubs are part of the housing project. Gardens with lawns, flower beds and trees will be laid out between the buildings. A forest belt one kilometre long will be planted at the northwest corner of the project to protect the houses from the dust and smoke of the city's factories. A park will be built at the back of the estate.

WEEKLY RADIO PROGRAMS OF THE WFDY

FOR LISTENERS IN THE EAST FROM RADIO PEKING

Every Sunday

Programme in	*G.M.T.*	*Peking Time*	*Wave Lengths*
Indonesian	10.30—11.00	18.30—19.00	700 kc 11690 kc 15060 kc 428.57 m. 25.66 m. 19.92 m.
Viet-Namese	13.00—13.30	21.00—21.30	700 kc 11690 kc 15060 kc 428.57 m. 25.66 m. 19.92 m.
English	13.30—14.00	21.30—22.00	700 kc 11690 kc 15060 kc 428.57 m. 25.66 m. 19.92 m.
Siamese	14.00—14.30	22.00—22.30	700 kc 11690 kc 15060 kc 428.57 m. 25.66 m. 19.92 m.
Burmese	15.00—15.30	23.00—23.30	700 kc 11690 kc 15060 kc 428.57 m. 25.66 m. 19.92 m.

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الردة الرجعية

في روسيا بعد ثورة ١٩٠٥

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الفصل الرابع

من تاريخ الحزب الشيوعي
في الاتحاد السوفياتي
(حزب البلشفيك)

•

يتضمن هذا الفصل
مؤلف ستالين الشهير :

المادية الديالكتيكية والمادية التاريخية

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مكتب المطبوعات الشعبية
دمشق - بيروت
١٩٤٩

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الفصل الرابع

المنشفيك والبلاشفة في دور الرجعة الستوليبينية - البلاشفة يجتمعون في حزب ماركسي مستقل

(١٩٠٨ - ١٩١٢)

١ - الرجعة الستوليبينية - تفسخ الاوساط المثقفة في المعارضة - الانحطاط الخلقي - انتقال عدد من مثقفي الحزب الى معسكر اعداء الماركسية وظهور محاولات لتحريف النظرية الماركسية - رد لينين على المحرفين في مؤلفه: « المادية والمذهب النقدي التجريبي» والدفاع عن المبادىء النظرية للحزب الماركسي.

في الثالث من حزيران ١٩٠٧، حلت الحكومة القيصرية مجلس دوما الدولة الثاني - وهو ما اتفق على تسميته في التاريخ بانقلاب ٣ حزيران - واصدرت قانوناً جديداً عن طريقة الانتخاب لمجلس دوما الدولة الثالث ، ناقضة بذلك نفس بيانها ، بيان ١٧ تشرين الاول ١٩٠٥ ، الذي تعهدت فيه بالا تسن قوانين جديدة الا بموافقة مجلس الدوما. وعلى اثر ذلك ، احيل اعضاء الكتلة الاشتراكية الديموقراطية في مجلس الدوما الثاني الى القضاء ، وارسل ممثلو الطبقة العاملة الى السجون والمنافي .

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وقد وضع القانون الانتخابي الجديد بشكل يزيد كثيراً في عدد ممثلي كبار ملاكي الاراضي وممثلي البورجوازية التجارية والصناعية في مجلس الدوما، وينقص بنسبة كبيرة عدد ممثلي الفلاحين والعمال، الذي كان من قبل ضئيلاً جداً.

فاصبح مجلس الدوما الثالث من حيث تركيبه، مجلساً للمائة السود (١) والكاديت (٢). فمن مجموع ٤٤٢ نائباً، كان لليمينيين (المائة السود) ١٧١ نائباً ، وللتشرينيين (اي انصار البيان القيصري الصادر في ١٧ تشرين أول ١٩٠٥ – المعرب) واعضاء الكتل المقربة منهم ١١٣ نائباً، وللكاديت واعضاء الكتل المجاورة لهم ١٠١ ، وللترودوفيك (٣) ١٣، وللاشتراكيين الديموقراطيين ١٨ .

وكان رجال اليمين (وسموا بذلك لجلوسهم في الجهة اليمنى من المجلس) ألد اعداء العمال والفلاحين. كانوا يمثلون كبار الملاكين الاقطاعيين ، المغرقين في الرجعية ، الذين جلدوا الفلاحين واطلقوا على جموعهم الرصاص اثناء قمع حركتهم ، ونظموا المذابح العنصرية ضد اليهود وحملات البطش بمظاهرات العمال، واضرموا النار بوحشية في الاماكن

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(١) المائة السود: حزب رجعي قيصري، حارب الحركة الديموقراطية والطبقة العاملة والفلاحين بوحشية، ونظم المذابح العنصرية واعمال الارهاب والتنكيل ضد المنظمات الثورية، وقاوم الحركات الوطنية لمختلف القوميات في روسيا ودعا الى قمعها بلا هوادة (المعرب) .

(٢) الكاديت : تسمية مختصرة لاعضاء « الحزب الدستوري الديموقراطي » الذي كان يمثل مصالح البورجوازية الحرة Libérale في روسيا القيصرية (المعرب) .

(٣) الترودوفيك : كتلة برجوازية صغيرة تألفت في عام ١٩٠٦ في مجلس دوما الدولة الاول ، من قسم من نواب الفلاحين، على رأسهم مثقفون من الاشتراكيين الثوريين (المعرب) .

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التي كانت تعقد فيها الاجتماعات العامة خلال ايام الثورة . فكانوا من مؤيدي انزال افظع انواع الارهاب بالشغيلة ، ومن انصار منح القيصرية سلطة لا حد لها ، ولذا عارضوا البيان القيصري الصادر في ١٧ تشرين الاول ١٩٠٥ .

اما حزب تشرين ، او « اتحاد ١٧ تشرين » ، فكان قريباً جداً من اليمين ، يعبر اعضاؤه عن مصالح الرأسمال الصناعي الكبير ومصالح كبار الملاكين العقاريين الذين يستخدمون الاساليب الرأسمالية في استثمار اراضيهم (وقد انضم الى التشرينيين في بداية الثورة قسم هام من كبار ملاكي الاراضي في حزب الكاديت). على ان الشيء الوحيد الذي كان يميز التشرينيين عن رجال اليمين ، هو اعلانهم – ولكن بالقول فقط – موافقتهم على بيان ١٧ تشرين الاول . اما فيما عدا ذلك ، فكانوا يؤيدون سياسة الحكومة القيصرية ، الداخلية والخارجية ، تأييداً تاماً .

اما الكاديت ، او جماعة الحزب «الدستوري الديمقراطي» ، فقد نقص عدد مقاعدهم في مجلس الدوما الثالث عما كان عليه في المجلسين الاول والثاني ، ذلك لأن قسما من اصوات كبار ملاكي الاراضي انتقل من الكاديت الى التشرينيين .

وكان في مجلس الدوما الثالث كتلة قليلة العدد من الديمقراطيين ، صغار البورجوازيين ، المعروفين بالترودوفيك ، وكانوا يتذبذبون بين الكاديت وكتلة الديمقراطية العمالية (البلاشفة) . وكان لينين يقول بان الترودوفيك ، رغم ضعفهم الشديد في الدوما ، يمثلون الجماهير ، جماهير الفلاحين . وكان تذبذب الترودوفيك بين الكاديت والديموقراطية العمالية ، نتيجة حتمية للوضع الطبقي الذي كان عليه صغار

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المستثمرين . وكان لينين يضع امام النواب البلاشفة ، اي امام كتلة الديموقراطية العمالية ، مهمة « مساعدة ضعاف الديموقراطيين من صغار البورجوازيين، وانتزاعهم من نفوذ الاحرار (١) ، وتأليف معسكر للديموقراطية ، لا ضد اليمينيين فحسب ، بل ايضاً ضد الكاديت ، اعداء الثورة » (لينين : مختارات من مؤلفاته ، الجزء الاول ، صفحة ٦٥١ ، الطبعة الروسية) .

وقد اثبت الكاديت اكثر فاكثر ، اثناء ثورة ١٩٠٥، ولا سيما بعد اندحارها ، انهم قوة مناوئة للثورة. فقد كانوا يطرحون جهاراً ، يوماً بعد يوم ، القناع « الديموقراطي » عن وجوههم ، ويسلكون سلوك الملكيين الحقيقيين ، المدافعين عن القيصرية. ففي ١٩٠٩ ، نشر فريق من كتّاب الكاديت البارزين مجموعة مقالات بعنوان « المراحل » (فيكي) ، شكروا فيها القيصرية ، باسم البورجوازية ، على سحقها للثورة. وقد كتبوا فيها باحرف بارزة، زاحفين على الاربع امام حكومة السوط والمشنقة، ان من الواجب « التسبيح بحمد هذه السلطة التي لا تزال ، وحدها، بحرابها وسجونها تحمينا (اي تحمي البورجوازية الحرة) من الهياج الشعبي » .

وبعد ان حلت الحكومة القيصرية مجلس الدوما الثاني، ونكلت بالكتلة الاشتراكية الديموقراطية ، عمدت الى تهديم منظمات العمال ، السياسية والاقتصادية . فعجّت السجون والمعاقل والمنافي بالثوريين الذين كانوا يضربون في السجون، ويعذبون بوحشية ، وينكل بهم افظع تنكيل ، وانتشر

(١) Libéraux

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ارهاب المائة السود منطلق العنان. وزرع الوزير القيصري «ستوليبين» المشانق زرعاً في طول البلاد وعرضها، واعدم عدة آلاف من الثوريين. واشتهر حبل المشنقة في ذلك العهد باسم « كرافات ستوليبين » . غير ان الحكومة القيصرية، مع امعانها في سحق حركة العمال والفلاحين الثورية ، ما كانت لتستطيع الاقتصار على اعمال القمع وحملات العقاب والاعدام والسجون والمنافي ، اذ كانت ترى بقلق ان ايمان الفلاحين الساذج بـ « القيصر الاب الصغير » يضمحل شيئاً فشيئاً. فعمدت الى مناورة واسعة النطاق لتأمين سند متين لها في الارياف ، بتقوية طبقة البورجوازية الريفية ، طبقة الكولاك .

وعلى هذا الاساس، اصدر ستوليبين في ٩ تشرين الثاني ١٩٠٦، قانوناً زراعياً جديداً يبيح لكل فلاح حق الانسحاب من المشاعات والاستقرار في «الخوتور» (المزارع المنفردة). فجاء هذا القانون هادماً لملكية الارض المشاعية، اذ اصبح الفلاح مدعواً الى اخذ حصته من الارض المشاعة كملك خاص له ، ثم الانسحاب من المشاع . وابيح للفلاح بيع حصته من الارض، وهو ما لم يكن يحق له قبلاً، كما اجبرت المشاعات الفلاحية على اعطاء كل من اعضائها الراغبين في الانسحاب منها ، حصته من الارض قطعة واحدة مضمومة الاجزاء (وهو ما كان يسمى « خوتور » او « اوتروب») لا قطعاً متفرقة منفصلاً بعضها عن بعض .

وعلى هذه الصورة تمكن الفلاحون الاغنياء، الكولاك، من الاستيلاء على اراضي الفلاحين الصغار باثمان بخسة وخلال بضع سنوات ، اصبح اكثر من مليون فلاح صغير ، بلا ارض

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وفي خراب تام ، وادى انتزاع اراضيهم منهم الى اكثار مزارع الكولاك . وكانت هـذه المزارع احياناً تؤلف املاكا شاسعة تستخدم بالاجرة يداً عاملة كبيرة العدد . وكانت الحكومـة تجبر الفلاحين على اعطاء احسن اراضي المشاع الى المزارعين الكولاك .

وقبل ذلك ، لما جرى « تحرير » الفلاحين ، كان كبار الملاكين قد سلبوهم اراضيهم . والآن اصبح الكولاك يسلبون المشاعات احسن اراضيها باستيـلائهم على حصص الفلاحين الفقراء بابخس الاثمان .

وكانت الحكومة القيصرية تقرض الكولاك مبـالغ طائلة ، ليشتروا بها الاراضي وينشئوا مزارعهم ، اذ كان في نية ستوليبين ان يجعل من الكولاك طبقـة من صغار اسياد الارض، مدافعين امناء عن الاوتوقراطية القيصرية .

وهكذا انسحب من المشاعات خلال تسع سنوات (من ١٩٠٦ الى ١٩١٥) اكثر من مليوني فلاح .

كانت سياسة ستوليبين تزيد حالة صغار الفلاحين وفقرائهم ضيقاً وبؤساً . فاشتد التفاوت بين فئات الفلاحين، ونشبت المنازعات بينهم وبين المزارعين الكولاك .

ومن جهة اخرى، اخذت طبقة الفلاحين تدرك انها لن تحصل ابداً على اراضي الاسياد ، ما دامت الحكومـة القيصرية في الوجود ، ومعها مجلس الدوما الذي يسيطر عليه كبار ملاكي الاراضي والـكاديت .

وقد ضعفت حركة الفلاحين ، بادىء الامر ، خـلال السنوات التي نشط فيها انشاء مزارع الكولاك (١٩٠٧-١٩٠٩) . ولكنها في سنتي ١٩١٠ و١٩١١ وفيما بعد ايضاً،

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ازدادت قوة ، ضد كبار الملاكين والكولاك ، نتيجة للمنازعات بين الفلاحين المشاعيين والمزارعين الكولاك.

وحدثت ايضاً ، بعد الثورة ،تغييرات هامة في ميدان الصناعة . فقد اشتد تمركز الصناعة ، اي توسع المشاريع وتجمعها في ايدي كتل رأسمالية تنمو قوتها يوماً بعد يوم. وكان الرأسماليون ، حتى قبل ثورة١٩٠٥،قد ألفوا شركات احتكارية لرفع اسعار البضائع في داخل البلاد . وكان الربح الفاحش الزائد الذي يجمع بهذه الطريقة ، يحوّل الى مخصصات لتشجيع الاصدار،لكي يتيسرلهم طرح المحصولات الى السوق الخارجية باسعار منخفضة ، فيتم لهم الاستيلاء على اسواق للتصريف . وكانت هذه الشركات، او الكتل الراسمالية (الاحتكارات)،تسمى اما تروستات ، واما نقابات . وقد تكاثر ، بعد الثورة ، عدد التروستات والنقابات الرأسمالية ، كما تضاعف عدد البنوك الضخمة التي كان دورها يتعاظم في الصناعة . وكانت رؤوس الاموال الاجنبية ترد بغزارة الى روسيا .

وهكذا اخذت الرأسمالية في روسيا تصبح ، اكثر فاكثر ، رأسمالية احتكارية ، استعمارية .

وبعد ركود دام بضع سنين ، انتعشت الصناعة : فازداد استخراج الفحم والبترول ، كما ارتفع انتاج المعادن والنسيج والسكر ، وكان اصدار القمح الى الخارج في صعود قوي .

على ان روسيا ، رغم تسجيلها في هذا العهد بعض التقدم الصناعي ، ظلت بلاداً متأخرة بالنسبة لاوروبا الغربية ، وبقيت في وضع التابع للرأسماليين الاجانب . فلم تكن

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تصنع فيها لا آلات ، ولا آلات لصنع الآلات(١) ، بل كانت تستوردها من الخارج . كذلك لم تكن فيها صناعة سيارات ، ولا صناعة كيماوية ، ولم تكن تنتج فيها اسمدة معدنية . وفيما يتصل بصنع الاسلحة ايضاً ، كانت متأخرة عن الاقطار الرأسمالية الاخرى .

وقد اشار لينين الى ضعف استهلاك المعادن في روسيا، كشاهد على تأخر حالة البلاد ، فقال :

« خلال نصف القرن الذي اعقب تحرير الفلاحين، ازداد استهلاك الحديد في روسيا خمسة اضعافه . ومع ذلك لاتزال روسيا بلاداً متأخرة الى حد لا يصدق ولا يقدر ، بلاداً بائسة ونصف متوحشة ، جهازها من ادوات الانتاج العصرية اسوأ باربع مرات من انكلترا ، وبخمس مرات من المانيا، وبعشر مرات من الولايات المتحدة » . (لينين : المؤلفات الكاملة ، الجزء السادس عشر ،صفحة٥٤٣،الطبعة الروسية)

وكانت النتيجة المباشرة لتأخر روسيا الاقتصادي والسياسي ، ان الرأسمالية الروسية ، والقيصرية نفسها ، كانتا تابعتين لرأسمالية اوروبا الغربية .

لهذا السبب ، كانت اهم فروع الاقتصاد الوطني، كالفحم والبترول والصناعة الكهربائية والتعدين ،في ايدي الرأسمال الاجنبي ، وكان يتحتم استيراد جميع الادوات والآلات تقريباً من الخارج .

ولهذا السبب ايضاً ، عقدت القيصرية قروضاً مجحفة في الخارج ، كانت تدفع فوائدها مئات الملايين من الروبلات،

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(١) Machine - Outils

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تبتزها في كل سنة من السكان .

واخيراً ، لهذا السبب نفسه ، وقعت القيصرية مع « الحلفاء » ، معاهدات سرية ، تعهدت فيها ان ترسل في حالة وقوع حرب ، ملايين الجنود الروس الى جبهات القتال الاستعمارية ، لنجدة « الحلفاء » ، وتأمين مرابح فاحشة للرأسماليين الانكليز والفرنسيين .

وتميزت سنوات الرجعة الستوليبينية ايضاً ، بانطلاق الدرك والشرطة وزبانية التحريض القيصريين واجلاف المائة السود ، انطلاقاً وحشياً في الاعتداء على الطبقة العاملة . الا ان اجراء القيصرية هؤلاء ، لم ينفردوا وحدهم في التنكيل بالعمال ، فقد سار اصحاب الفبارك والمعامل على غرارهم في هذا المضمار ، فشددوا هجومهم على الطبقة العاملة ، خصوصاً في سني الركود الصناعي والبطالة المتزايدة . كان اصحاب الفبارك يعمدون الى تسريح العمال بصورة جماهيرية . وكان لديهم « دفاتر سوداء » يسجلون فيها اسماء العمال الواعين الذين يشتركون بنشاط في الاضرابات . فلا يتمكن الذين تظهر اسماؤهم في « الدفاتر » او « القوائم السوداء » ، من ايجاد عمل لهم في اي مشروع من المشاريع التابعة لاحتكارات ارباب الصناعة . وقد خفضت الاجور ابتداء من سنة ١٩٠٨ بنسبة ١٠ الى ١٥ بالمائة ، واطيل في كل مكان يوم العمل الى ١٠ و ١٢ ساعة ، وازدهر من جديد نظام الغرامات الفاضح .

وقد ولّد اندحار ثورة ١٩٠٥ ، الانحلال والتفسخ بين « رفاق الطريق » ، رفاق الثورة الموقتين ، وبلغ التفسخ والانحطاط الخلقي حداً شديد الخطورة بين المثقفين بوجه

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خاص . فان « رفاق الطريق » ، الذين جاؤوا الى صفوف الثورة من وسط البورجوازية حينما كانت الثورة في نهوض طام ، بارحوا الحزب في ايام الرجعة . فانتقل بعضهم الى معسكر اعداء الثورة المعروفين المفضوحين ، اما الاخرون الذين استقروا في ما بقي حياً من جمعيات العمال الشرعية (العلنية) ، فكانوا يسعون الى تحويل الطبقة العاملة عن طريق الثورة ، والى الحط من قيمة حزب العمال الثوري ، اي ان رفاق الطريق اولاء اخذوا ، بعد تركهم الثورة ، يحاولون ان يأتلفوا مع الرجعية وان ينزلوا عند رغبات القيصرية .

واستغلت الحكومة القيصرية اندحار الثورة ، فجعلت اشد رفاق الطريق جبناً وضعفاً ، عملاء وجواسيس لها . فكان اخوان يهوذا السفلة هؤلاء ، عناصر الاستفزاز والوشاية ، الذين بثتهم دوائر الامن القيصرية سراً في منظمات العمال والحزب ، يتجسسون من الداخل على الثوريين ويبيعونهم .

وتابعت الرجعية ، عدوة الثورة ، هجومها في الميدان الفكري ايضاً . فظهرت زمرة من الكتّاب « على الموضة » ، اخذوا « ينتقدون » الماركسية و « يعدمونها » ويقبّحون الثورة ويمرغونها في الاوحال ، ويمجدون الخيانة والتهتك الجنسي باسم « تقديس الفرد » .

وتكاثرت في الميدان الفلسفي محاولات « نقد » الماركسية وتحريفها ، وبرزت تيارات دينية من جميع الانواع ، مقنعة بحجج « علمية » مزعومة . واصبح « نقد » الماركسية نوعاً من « الموضة » .

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و « بوشكيفيتش » و « بازاروف » و « فالانتينوف » ، ولاستاذهم في الفلسفة « افيناريوس » و « ماخ »، الذين حاولوا جميعاً في كتاباتهم ان يقدموا للناس « مثالية »(١) ملطفة ومطلية ، معارضة للمادية الماركسية ، بل ان كتاب لينين هو في الوقت نفسه دفاع عن مبادىء الماركسية النظرية — اي عن المادية الديالكتيكية والمادية التاريخية — وهو تعميم مادي لكل ما اكتسبه العلم ، وخصوصاً علم الطبيعة ، من جوهري وهام ، خلال مرحلة تاريخيـة كاملة تمتد من وفاة انجلس الى ظهور مؤلف لينين «المادية والمذهب النقدي التجريبي » .

فبعد ان انتقد لينين انتقاداً دقيقاً وافياً، انصار المذهب النقدي التجريبي الروس واساتذتهم الاجانب ، توصل الى الاستنتاجات التالية ضد التحريفية (٢) النظرية والفلسفية :

اولاً — « ان ما يميز التحريفيـة المعاصرة ، سواء في الاقتصاد السياسي او في المسائل الخططيـة ، وفي الفلسفة عموماً ، هو تزييف الماركسية ومسخها بحذاقة متزايدة ، بواسطة مذاهب مغايرة للمادية» . (المرجع ذاته — صفحة ٢٧٠) .

ثانياً — « ان مدرسة ماخ وافيناريوس باسرها تنزع الى

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(١) المثالية : المقصود بالمثالية هنا معناها العلمي الفلسفي ، لا معناها الشائع المتداول الذي يعني عادة « الطموح الى مثل اعلى » او «احتقار المادة والترفع عنها » وما الى ذلك . فالمثالية في الفلسفة تشمل ، على وجه الاجمال، المذاهب الفلسفية التي تقول ان للفكر او الشعور وجوداً مستقلا عن المادة ، فتنكر معرفة العالم ولا تعترف بقيمة العلم ومعارفنا العلمية، وتذهب الى ان العقل البشري لا يستطيع ادراك ماهية الموجودات — (المعرب) .

(٢) Révisionnisme

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ضوء نظرية المعرفة المعاصرة» بقلم «برمان»، و«الابنية الفلسفية للماركسية» بقلم «فالانتينوف». ان جميع هؤلاء الاشخاص الذين يجمع بينهم – رغم تباين آرائهم السياسية – الحقد على المادية الديالكتيكية، يدّعون مع ذلك انهم ماركسيون في الفلسفة! ... فيقول «برمان»: ان ديالكتيك انجلس هو «صوفية»!، ويشير «بازاروف» عرضاً، كما لو كان الامر شيئاً مسلماً به، الى «ان مفاهيم انجلس قد «شاخت»! كأنما المادية قد ثبت بطلانها – على ما يظهر – على ايدي هؤلاء المحاربين الشجعان، الذين يستشهدون، وكلهم اعتداد وخيلاء، «بنظرية المعرفة المعاصرة» و «الفلسفة الحديثة» (او «الايجابية الحديثة») و «فلسفة العلوم الطبيعية المعاصرة»، وحتى «فلسفة العلوم الطبيعية في القرن العشرين». (لينين: المؤلفات الكاملة – الجزء الثالث عشر – صفحة ١١، الطبعة الروسية).

وجواباً على «لوناتشارسكي» الذي كان يقول، لتبرير اصدقائه المحرّفين في الفلسفة، «ربما كنا على ضلال، ولكننا نبحث»، كتب لينين:

«اني، انا ايضاً، من جهتي «باحث» في الفلسفة. ولهذا جعلت مهمتي في هذه الملاحظات (يعني كتاب «المادية والمذهب النقدي التجريبي» – المعرب) ان ابحث عن باعث هراء هؤلاء الناس الذين يقدمون لنا تحت اسم الماركسية، شيئاً متنافراً الى درجة لا تصدق، وغامضاً ورجعياً» (المرجع ذاته – الصفحة ١٢).

الا ان مؤلف لينين كان، في الواقع، يتجاوز هذه المهمة المتواضعة. فهو لم يكن نقداً وحسب لـ «بوغدانوف»

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وضد الثورة . وقد بلغ الامر ببعض المثقفين الذين تخلوا عن الماركسية ، انهم راحوا يدعون الى ضرورة خلق دين جديد (فعرفوا باسم « الباحثين عن الله » و « بنّائي الله »).

فازاء هذه الحالة ، وجب على الماركسيين ان يضطلعوا باعباء مهمة ملحة عاجلة ، هي ان يصفعوا هؤلاء المرتدّين عن النظرية الماركسية بالرد الذي يستحقونه ، وينزعوا اقنعتهم عن وجوههم ، ويفضحوهم الى النهاية ، فيصونوا بذلك الاسس النظرية للحزب الماركسي .

وكان المظنون ان « بليخانوف » واصدقاءه المنشفيك ، الذين كانوا يعتبرون انفسهم « النظريين البارزين للماركسية » ، سيأخذون هذه المهمة على عاتقهم ، غير انهم اكتفوا بكتابة مقالين اثنين لا قيمة لها ، نشرا في زاوية النقد من احدى الصحف ، ثم قبع كل منهم في وكره .

فنهض لينين نفسه بهذه المهمة ، بوضعه مؤلفه الشهير « المادية والمذهب النقدي التجريبي » (١) ، الذي نشره عام ١٩٠٩ ، ومما قال فيه :

« في اقل من ستة اشهر ، صدرت اربعة كتب مكرسة بصورة رئيسية ، بل بصورة تامة تقريباً ، لمهاجمة المادية الديالكتيكية . اولها : « دراسات في (كان ينبغي القول ضد) فلسفة الماركسية » ، وهي مجموعة مقالات من « بازاروف » و « بوغدانوف » و « لوناتشارسكي » و « برمان » و « هيلفون » و « يوشكيفتش » و « سوفوروف » ، ثم « المادية والواقعية الانتقادية » بقلم « يوشكيفتش » ، و « الديالكتيك في

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(١) Matérialisme et Empiriocriticisme

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وكان كل هؤلاء السادة ، رغم اختلاف الوانهم واشكالهم ، يتبعون هدفاً مشتركا ، هو تحويل الجماهير عن الثورة .

وسرى الشك والانحطاط ايضاً في بعض مثقفي الحزب الذين كانوا يدعون بانهم ماركسيون ، مع انهم لم يقفوا مرة واحدة بقدم ثابتة في المواقف الماركسية . وكان بينهم كتّاب مثل «بوغدانوف» و «بازاروف» و «لوناتشارسكي» (انضموا الى البلاشفة في عام ١٩٠٥) و «يوشكيفتش» و «فالانتينوف» (من المنشفيك) ، راحوا «ينتقدون» ، في آن واحد ، اسس الماركسية الفلسفية والنظرية ، اي المادية الديالكتيكية ، وكذلك اسسها العلمية والتاريخية ، اي المادية التاريخية . وكان هذا النقد يتميز عن النقد العادي ، بانه لم يكن يجري بصورة علنية شريفة ، بل بصورة مقنعة محفوفة بالرياء ، وباسم الدفاع عن المواقف الاساسية للماركسية . كانوا يقولون : نحن من حيث الجوهر ماركسيون ، الا اننا نريد «تحسين» الماركسية واستخلاصها من بعض المبادىء الاساسية . ولكنهم كانوا في الحقيقة اعداء للماركسية ، يسعون الى نسف مبادئها النظرية ، وينكرون بالكلام فقط ، رياء ونفاقاً ، عداءهم لها ، ويستمرون ، بحطة وسفالة ، على تسمية انفسهم ماركسيين . وكان الخطر من هذا النقد القائم على الرياء والنفاق ، هو كونه يستهدف خدع مناضلي القاعدة في الحزب ، ويمكن ان يضللهم ويوقعهم في مهاوي الغلط . ولذا ، كان هذا النقد الرامي الى نسف الاسس النظرية للماركسية ، كلما امعن في الرياء والنفاق ، اشتد خطره على الحزب وتعاظم ، لا سيما وقد كان متكاتفاً بصورة وثيقة مع الحملة الصليبية التي شهرتها الرجعية باسرها ضد الحزب

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المثالية » . (المرجع ذاته – صفحة ٢٩١) .

ثالثاً – « ان اصحابنا ، انصار ماخ ، قد زلقوا جميعاً في المثالية » . (المرجع ذاته – صفحة ٢٨٢) .

رابعاً – « من المستحيل الا يميز المرء ، وراء التعاليم اللاهوتية التي يقوم عليها المذهب النقدي التجريبي ، النضال بين المذاهب في الفلسفة ، هذا النضال الذي يعبر في جوهره الاخير عن ميول الطبقات المتطاحنة في المجتمع المعاصر وعن اتجاهاتها الفكرية » . (المرجع ذاته – صفحة ٢٩٢) .

خامساً – « ان الدور الموضوعي ، الدور الطبقي للمذهب النقدي التجريبي ، ينحصر تماماً في خدمة الايمانيين(١) في نضالهم ضد المادية بصورة عامة ، وضد المادية التاريخية بصورة خاصة » (المرجع ذاته – صفحة ٢٩٢) .

سادساً – « ان المثالية الفلسفية هي ... طريق التجهيل الاكليريكي » . (المرجع ذاته – صفحة ٣٠٤) .

ولاجل تقدير ما كان لمؤلف لينين من اهمية عظمى في تاريخ حزبنا ، وادراك اي كنز نظري دافع عنه لينين ضد جميع انواع المحرفين والمتفسخين ، في دور الرجعية الستوليبينية ، لا ندحة من الاطلاع ، ولو بايجاز ، على مبادىء المادية الديالكتيكية والمادية التاريخية .

وهو ضروري ، خصوصاً ، لان المادية الديالكتيكية والمادية التاريخية ، هما الاساس النظري للشيوعية ، هما جماع المبادىء النظرية للحزب الماركسي . فمعرفة هذه المبادىء ، وتفهمها ، وهضمها ، هي واجب على كل مناضل نشيط في

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(١) Fidéistes : الرجعيون الذين يفضلون الايمان على العلم (المعرب) .

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حزبنا .

فاذن :

١ - ما هي المادية الديالكتيكية ؟

٢ - ما هي المادية التاريخية ؟

●

٢ - المادية الديالكتيكية والمادية التاريخية

المادية الديالكتيكية هي النظرية العامة للحزب الماركسي اللينيني . وقد سميت بالمادية الديالكتيكية لان اسلوبها في النظر الى حوادث الطبيعة ، او طريقتها في البحث والمعرفة هي ديالكتيكية ، ولأن تعليلها حوادث الطبيعة وتصورها لهذه الحوادث ، اي نظريتها هي مادية .

اما المادية التاريخيـــة فتوسع نطاق مبادىء المادية الديالكتيكية حتى تشمل دراسة الحياة الاجتماعية ، وتطبق هذه المبادىء على حوادث الحياة الاجتماعية ، اي على درس المجتمع ، وعلى درس تاريخ المجتمع .

وعندما يعرّف ماركس وانجلس طريقتهما الديالكتيكية ، يرجعان عادة الى هيغل (١) ، باعتباره الفيلسوف الذي أبان

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(١) هيغل HEGEL [١٧٧٠ - ١٨٣٠] : اشهر واعظم الفلاسفة المثاليين الالمان ، وعنوان عظمته الطريقة الديالكتيكية التي تصورها بشكل مثالي ، ولكنها كانت صحيحة من حيث الاساس وهو يذهب الى ان « الفكرة » المطبقة هي المبدأ الاول والواقع الوحيد وهي تتخذ شكلاً خارجياً في الطبيعة ، ثم تعود الى نفسها بشكل العقل . والفكرة بذاتها هي خالق الطبيعة والتاريخ وصانعهما . وقد قلب ماركس ديالكتيك هيغل ووضعه على قدميه بعد ان تبينت له وحدة الذات والموضوع في الطبيعة وفي المجتمع البشري [المعرب] .

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الخطوط الاساسية للديالكتيك . غير ان ذلك لا يعني ان ديالكتيك ماركس وانجلس هو عين ديالكتيك هيغل، لأن ماركس وانجلس لم يقتبسا من ديالكتيك هيغل سوى « نواته العقلية » وطرحا قشرته المثالية[١]، ثم وسعاه وانمياه، واعطياه طابعاً علمياً حديثاً .

يقول ماركس :

« ان طريقتي الديالكتيكية لا تختلف عن الطريقة الهيغلية من حيث الاساس فحسب ، بل هي ضدُها تماماً ، فحركة الفكر، هذا الفكر الذي يشخصه هيغل ويطلق عليه اسم « الفكرة » [٢]، هي، في نظره، خالق الواقع وصانعه ، فما الواقع الا الشكل الحادثي للفكرة . اما في نظري ، فعلى العكس ، ليست حركة الفكر سوى انعكاس الحركة الواقعية، منقولة الى دماغ الانسان ومستقرة فيه » (كارل ماركس : رأس المال ، الكتاب الاول ، الجزء الاول، ص ٢٩، الطبعة الفرنسية، مكتب المطبوعات ، باريس ١٩٣٨) .

وعندما يعرف ماركس وانجلس ماديتهما يرجعان عادة الى فورباخ[٣] ، باعتباره الفيلسوف الذي اعاد الى المادية

(١) – راجع هامش الصفحة ١٦ . (٢) Idée

(٣) لودفيغ فورباخ Ludwig Feuerbach [١٨٠٤ - ١٨٧٢] : فيلسوف الماني مادي، احيا وجدد مادية القرن الثامن عشر بكل صفاتها ونقائصها : بحقدها الثوري النبيل على الجمود الغبي ، وبميلها الواضح الى المثالية عندما تحاول تفسير الحوادث والاعمال الاجتماعية. وكان فورباخ يقول « ان الفكرة خرجت من الكائن ، لا الكائن من الفكرة » ، وان الانسان هو نتاج الطبيعة . وتشكل فلسفة فورباخ حلقة الانتقال من فلسفة هيغل الى فلسفة ماركس [المعرب].

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حقوقها . غير ان ذلك لا يعني ان مادية ماركس وانجلس هي عين مادية فورباخ . فان ماركس وانجلس لم يقتبسا من مادية فورباخ سوى نواتها المركزية ، ثم وسعاها وجعلا منها نظرية فلسفية علمية للمادية، وطرحا عنها ما تراكم عليها من قشور مثالية واخلاقية ودينية . ومن المعلوم ان فورباخ، رغم كونه مادياً من حيث الاساس ، احتج على نعته بالمادية، حتى لقد قال انجلس مراراً ان فورباخ «رغم اساسه» (المادي) « ظل سجين القيود المثالية التقليدية » و « ان مثالية فورباخ الحقيقية » تظهر « حال وصولنا الى فلسفته في الدين والى فلسفته في الاخلاق » (فردريك انجلس : لودفيغ فورباخ ونهاية الفلسفة الكلاسيكية (١) الالمانية ، ص ٣٠ و ٣٤ ، موسكو ١٩٤٦) .

اخذت كلمة ديالكتيك من الكلمة اليونانية « ديالغو» ومعناها المحادثة والمجادلة . وكان الديالكتيك يعني، في عهد الاولين ، فن الوصول الى الحقيقة باكتشاف التناقضات التي يتضمنها استدلال الخصم ، وبالتغلب عليها .

وكان بعض الفلاسفة الاولين يعتبرون ان اكتشاف تناقضات الفكر والمصادمة بين الاراء هما خير وسيلة

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(١) كلاسيكية Classique : الكلاسيكي نعت جامع لامور متفرقة . فاذا اضيف الى اللغات مثلا اريد به اليونانية القديمة واللاتينية اللتين اورثتا العالم الغربي (والشرقي الى حد ما) نماذجه الفكرية والادبية المثلى . واذا اضيف الى الادب خاصة اريد به ادب اليونان والرومان القدماء ، او ما ضرب على غراره من اداب الامم الغربية ، وذلك معارضة للادب الجديد حيناً ، والرومنطيقي حيناً اخر . ويراد به هنا المذاهب الفلسفية التي كانت لها الغلبة او السيادة على الاوساط الجامعية والرسمية بالمانيا، ودلالته العامة هي القدمية والاصالة واتباع السنن المقررة.
(المعرب)

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لاكتشاف الحقيقة. فهذا الاسلوب الديالكتيكي في التفكير، الذي طبق فيما بعد على حوادث الطبيعة، اصبح الطريقة الديالكتيكية لمعرفة الطبيعة. ان حوادث الطبيعة، بموجب هذه الطريقة، هي متحركة متغيرة دائماً وابداً، وتطور الطبيعة هو نتيجة تطور تناقضات الطبيعة، نتيجة الفعل المتبادل بين القوى المتضادة في الطبيعة.

ان الديالكتيك هو، من حيث جوهره، ضد الميتافيزية (١) تماماً.

١ - تتميز الطريقة الديالكتيكية الماركسية بالخطوط الاساسية التالية:

ا) ان الديالكتيك، خلافاً للميتافيزية، لا يعتبر الطبيعة تراكماً عرضياً للاشياء، او حوادث بعضها منفصل عن بعض، او احدها منعزل مستقل عن الاخر، بل يعتبر الطبيعة كلاً واحداً متماسكاً، ترتبط فيه الاشياء والحوادث فيما بينها ارتباطاً عضوياً، ويتعلق احدها بالآخر، ويكون بعضها شرطاً لبعض بصورة متقابلة.

لذلك تعتبر الطريقة الديالكتيكية ان اي حادث من حوادث الطبيعة، لا يمكن فهمه اذا نظر اليه منفرداً، بمعزل

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(١) الميتافيزية Métaphysique: وتعني حرفياً «ما وراء الطبيعة» او «ما وراء الموجود الفيزيائي». وقد رأينا الاحتفاظ بلفظها الاصلي لان ترجمتها لا تؤدي معناها اداء تاماً. ويأتي شرحها في سياق البحث. وهي، بايجاز، تعني طريقة في التفكير الفلسفي تنكر الروابط بين الاشياء والحوادث، وتنظر اليها منفصلاً بعضها عن بعض، وتعتبر الطبيعة والمجتمع في حالة جمود واستقرار، فحركة التطور في نظرها حركة نمو بسيطة، او تكرار وتراكم للحوادث نفسها. (المعرب)

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عن الحوادث المحيطة به ، اذ ان اي حادث ، في اي ميدان من ميادين الطبيعة ، يمكن ان ينقلب الى عبث فارغ لا معنى له ، اذا نظر اليه بمعزل عن الشروط التي تكتنفه ، واذا فصل عن هذه الشروط . وعلى العكس يمكن فهم اي حادث من الحوادث وتبريره اذا نظر اليه من حيث ارتباطه ارتباطاً لا ينفصم بالحوادث المحيطة به ، اي اذا نظر اليه كما تحدده وتكيفه الحوادث التي تحيط به .

ب) ان الديالكتيك ، خلافاً للميتافيزية ، لا يعتبر الطبيعة حالة سكون وجمود ، حالة ركود واستقرار ، بل يعتبرها حالة حركة وتغير دائمين ، حالة تجدد وتطور لا ينقطعان ، ففيها دائماً شيء يولد ويتطور ، وشيء ينحل ويضمحل .

ولهذا تريد الطريقة الديالكتيكية ان لا يكتفى بالنظر الى الحوادث من حيث علاقات بعضها ببعض ، ومن حيث تكييف بعضها لبعض بصورة متقابلة ، بل ان ينظر اليها ايضاً من حيث حركتها ، من حيث تغيرها وتطورها ، من حيث ظهورها واختفاؤها .

وان المهم الجدير بالاعتبار قبل غيره في نظر الطريقة الديالكتيكية ، ليس الشيء الذي يبدو ، في لحظة معينة ، ثابتاً وهو في الواقع آخذ في الفناء ، بل المهم الجدير بالاعتبار قبل غيره في نظرها ، هو الشيء الذي يولد ويتطور ، ولو كان هذا الشيء يبدو في لحظة معينة غير ثابت ، اذ انه ليس في نظر الطريقة الديالكتيكية من شيء لا يقهر ولا يغلب سوى الشيء الذي يولد ويتطور .

يقول انجلس :

« ان الطبيعة باجمعها ، من اضأل الاجزاء الى

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اكبر الاجسام ، من حبة الرمل الى الشمس ، من البروتيست (وهي الخلية الحية الابتدائية - تعليق يوسف ستالين) الى الانسان ، هي في حركة دائمة من النشوء والاضمحلال ، هي في مدّ لا ينقطع ، في حركة وتغير مستمرين ابديين . » (كارل ماركس وفردريك انجلس : المؤلفات الكاملة ، «ضد دوهرينغ [1] : ديالكتيك الطبيعة » ، ص ٤٩١ ، موسكو - الطبعة الالمانية ١٩٣٥)

ولهذا فالديالكتيك ، كما يقول انجلس :

« ... ينظر بالدرجة الاولى ، الى الاشياء والى انعكاسها العقلي ، من حيث علاقاتها المتبادلة ، من حيث تسلسلها ، من حيث حركتها ، من حيث نشوؤها واضمحلالها » (المرجع ذاته : ص ٢٥)

ج) ان الديالكتيك ، خلافاً للميتافيزية ، لا يعتبر حركة التطور حركة نمو بسيطة ، لا تؤدي التغيرات الكمية فيها الى تغيرات كيفية ، بل يعتبرها تطوراً ينتقل من تغيرات كمية ضئيلة وخفية الى تغيرات ظاهرة واساسية ، اي الى تغيرات كيفية . وهذه التغيرات الكيفية ليست تدريجية ، بل هي سريعة ، فجائية ، وتحدث بقفزات من حالة الى اخرى . وليست هذه التغيرات جائزة الوقوع ، بل هي ضرورية ، وهي نتيجة تراكم تغيرات كمية غير محسوسة

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(١) ضد دوهرينغ Anti-Duhring : كتاب كبير مشهور ألفه فردريك انجلس رداً على عالم الماني اسمه دوهرينغ احدث في وقته ضجة كبرى في المانيا . وقد شرح انجلس ، خلال الرد عليه ، النظريات الماركسية الرئيسية في الفلسفة والاشتراكية والاقتصاد السياسي . (المعرب)

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وتدريجية . ولذلك تعتبر الطريقة الديالكتيكية ان من الواجب فهم حركة التطور لا من حيث هي حركة دائرية، او تكرار بسيط للطريق ذاته ، بل من حيث هي حركة تقدمية صاعدة، وانتقال من الحالة الكيفية القديمة الى حالة كيفية جديدة، وتطور ينتقل من البسيط الى المركب، من الادنى الى الاعلى .

يقول انجلس :

« ان الطبيعة هي محك الاختبار للديالكتيك ، ولا بد من القول ان علوم الطبيعة الحديثة قد وفرت لهذا الاختبار مواد غنية الى اقصى حد. وهذه المواد تزداد كل يوم . وهكذا برهنت هذه العلوم ان الطبيعة ، في النتيجة ، تعمل بصورة ديالكتيكية لا بصورة ميتافيزية ، وانها لاتتحرك في دائرة تبقى هي ذاتها دائماً وتتكرر الى الابد، بل ان لها تاريخاً واقعياً . وبهذه المناسبة ينبغي ان نذكر، بالدرجة الاولى، داروين(١) الذي وجه ضربة قاسية الى الفهم الميتافيزي للطبيعة، باثباته ان العالم العضوي باسره، كما هو موجود اليوم، اي النباتات والحيوانات، وبالتالي الانسان ايضاً، هي كلها نتاج تطور يجري منذ ملايين السنين » (المرجع ذاته : ص ٢٥)

ويبين انجلس ان التغيرات الكمية تنقلب الى تغيرات

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(١) شارل داروين [١٨٠٩-١٨٨٢]: عالم طبيعي انكليزي، من ابرز علماء نظرية التطور في علوم الطبيعة في القرن الماضي. اعطى نظرية التحول قوة الاقناع، بفرضيته المعروفة عن «الاصطفاء الطبيعي » ، اي الاصطفاء في النضال لاجل الحياة ، هذا النضال الذي يبقي على الاقوى والاكفاء (المعرب) .

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كيفية في التطور الديالكتيكي :

« في الفيزياء... كل تغير هو مرور من الكمية الى الكيفية، هو نتيجة التغير الكمّي لكمية الحركة كيفما كان شكلها، سواء أكانت ملازمة للجسم من داخله ام مضافة اليه من خارج. فان حرارة الماء مثلا، ليس لها، في بادىء الامر، تأثير في حالته من حيث هو سائل، ولكن اذا زيدت او أنقصت حرارة الماء، جاءت لحظة تعدلت فيها حالة التماسك التي هو فيها، وتحول الماء الى بخار في احدى الحالات، والى جليد في الحالة الاخرى. وكذلك نرى ان شريطاً من البلاتين يحتاج الى تيار ذي قوة معينة لكي يصبح مضيئاً، ونرى ايضاً ان لكل معدن حرارة ذوبان، وان لكل سائل موضوع تحت ضغط معين، حداً معيناً للتجمد وللغليان، وذلك بمقدار ما تسمح لنا وسائلنا بالحصول على درجات الحرارة اللازمة. ونرى اخيراً ان لكل غاز حرارة حرجة يمكن فيها تحويله الى سائل ضمن شروط معينة من الضغط والتبريد... فالنقاط الثابتة (١) كما يقال في الفيزياء (اي نقاط الانتقال من حالة الى اخرى - تعليق يوسف ستالين) ليست، على الغالب، سوى النقاط العقدية التي تؤدي فيها زيادة الحركة او انقاصها (وهو تغير كمّي) الى حدوث تغير كيفي في جسم ما، اي انها النقاط التي تتحول فيها الكمية الى

(١) Les constantes

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كيفية » (المرجع ذاته : ص ٥٠٢-٥٠٣) .

ويقول في الكلام عن الكيمياء :

« يمكن القول ان الكيمياء هي علم التغيرات الكيفية الناشئة في الاجسام عن تغيرات كمية . وكان هيغل نفسه يعرف ذلك في عهده . لنأخذ الاوكسجين : فاذا جمعنا في ذرة ثلاثة جواهر فردة عوضاً عن اثنين كالعادة ، حصلنا على جسم جديد هو «الاوزون» الذي يختلف اختلافاً بيناً ، برائحته وبتأثيراته ، عن الاوكسجين العادي. وماذا نقول عن مختلف تراكيب الاوكسجين مع الآزوت او مع الكبريت ؟ ان كل تركيب منها يعطي جسما مختلفاً من حيث الكيفية عن جميع الاجسام التي تعطيها التراكيب الاخرى.» (المرجع ذاته : ص ٥٠٣) .

واخيراً ينتقد انجلس دوهرينغ الذي يشتم هيغل ، ويختلس منه في الوقت نفسه نظريته المشهورة القائلة بان الانتقال من عهد العالم الفاقد الحس الى عهد الاحساس، من عهد العالم غير العضوي الى الحياة العضوية ، هو قفزة الى حالة جديدة :

« هذا هو تماماً الخط العقدي الهيغلي لعلاقات القياس ، حيث تنتج في بعض النقاط العقدية، من اضافة كمية محضة ، او من حذف كمي محض، قفزة كيفية، كما هي الحال مثلاً في الماء المسخن او المبرد. فان نقطة الغليان ونقطة التجمد فيه هما العقدتان اللتان تتم فيهما ، تحت الضغط العادي ، القفزة الى

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حالة جديدة من التجانس، اي تتحول فيها الكمية الى حالة كيفية » (المرجع ذاته : ص٤٩-٥٠).

د) ان نقطة الابتداء في الديالكتيك، خلافاً للميتافيزية، هي وجهة النظر القائمة على ان كل اشياء الطبيعة وحوادثها تحوي تناقضات داخلية، لأن لها جميعها جانباً سلبياً وجانباً ايجابياً، ماضياً وحاضراً، وفيها جميعها عناصر تضمحل او تتطور. فنضال هذه المتضادات، اي النضال بين القديم والجديد، بين ما يموت وما يولد، بين ما يفنى وما يتطور، هو المحتوى الداخلي لحركة التطور، هو المحتوى الداخلي لتحول التغيرات الكمية الى تغيرات كيفية.

ولذلك تعتبر الطريقة الديالكتيكية، ان حركة التطور من الادنى الى الاعلى، لا تجري بتطور الحوادث تطوراً تدريجياً متناسقاً، بل بظهور التناقضات الملازمة للاشياء والحوادث، بـ « نضال » الاتجاهات المتضادة، التي تعمل على اساس هذه التناقضات.

يقول لينين :

« ان الديالكتيك، بالمعنى الخاص للكلمة، هو درس التناقضات في ماهية الاشياء ذاتها » (لينين : الدفاتر الفلسفية، ص ٢٦٣ - الطبعة الروسية).

ويقول في مكان اخر :

« التطور هو « نضال » المتضادات » (لينين : المؤلفات الكاملة، المجلد١٣، ص٣٠١، الطبعة الروسية)

تلك هي بايجاز، الخطوط الاساسية للطريقة الديالكتيكية الماركسية.

وليس من الصعب ان ندرك ما هنالك من اهمية عظمى

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في اخضاع دراسة الحياة الاجتماعيـة ودرس تاريخ المجتمع لمبادىء الطريقة الديالكتيكية، وما هنالك من اهمية عظمى في تطبيق هـذه المبادىء على تاريخ المجتمع وعلى النشاط العملي لحزب البروليتاريا .

فاذا صح ان ليس في العالم حوادث منعزلة، اذا صح ان كل الحوادث مرتبطة فيما بينها ويكيف بعضها البعض الآخر بصورة متبادلة ، فمن الواضح ان كل نظام اجتماعي ، وكل حركة اجتماعية في التاريخ ، لا ينبغي الحكم عليهما من ناحية « العدالة الابدية » ، او من ناحية اية فكرة اخرى مقررة سلفاً كما يفعل المؤرخون على الغالب ، بل ينبغي لنا ان نبني حكمنا على اساس الظروف التي ولدت هذا النظام وهذه الحركة الاجتماعية المرتبطين بها .

ان نظام الرق يكون في الظروف الحاضرة خرقاً وبدعة مضادة للطبيعة . ولكـن نظام الرق في شروط المشاعية الابتدائية(١) ، الآخذة بالانحلال ، هو حادث مفهوم تماماً ومنطقي ، لانه يعني خطوة الى الامام بالنسبة لنظام المشاعية الابتدائية .

ان اقامة الجمهورية الديموقراطية البورجوازية في ظروف القيصرية والمجتمع البورجوازي، مثلاً في روسيا عام ١٩٠٥، كانت شيئاً مفهوماً وصحيحاً وثورياً تماماً ، لان الجمهورية البورجوازية كانت تعني اذ ذاك خطوة الى الامام . ولكن المطالبة باقامة الجمهورية الديموقراطية البورجوازية في ظروف

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(١) المشاعية الابتدائية : هو النظام الذي كان موجوداً في اوائل نشوء البشرية وكان قائماً على المشاع في الارض وادوات الانتاج البسيطة التي كان الانسان يستعملها في الصيد او غيره [المعرب]

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الاتحاد السوفياتي الحاضرة ، تكون خرقاً ، وشيئاً رجعياً مضاداً للثورة ، لان الجمهورية البورجوازية هي خطوة الى الوراء بالنسبة الى الجمهورية السوفياتية .

كل شيء يتعلق بالظروف ، بالمكان والزمان .

ومن الواضح ان وجود علم تاريخي ، وتطور هذا العلم ، شيئان مستحيلان بدون هذا الفهم التاريخي للحوادث الاجتماعية ، فمثل هـذا الفهم فقط يمنع علم التاريخ من ان يصبح فوضى احتمالات وكوم اخطاء سخيفة .

وبعد ، اذا صح ان العالم يتحرك ويتطور دائماً وابداً ، اذا صح ان اختفاء القديم ونشوء الجديد هما قانون للتطور ، اصبح من الواضح ان ليست هناك انظمة اجتماعية ثابتة « لا تتزعزع » ولا « مبادىء ابدية » للملكية الخاصة والاستثمار ، وليست هناك « افكار أبدية » عن خضوع الفلاحين لكبار ملاكي الارض والعمال للرأسماليين .

وبالتالي ، يمكن ان يحل النظام الاشتراكي محل النظام الرأسمالي كما حل النظام الرأسمالي في حينه محل النظام الاقطاعي .

وبالتالي ، ينبغي ان نؤسس عملنا لا على الفئات الاجتماعية التي توقفت عن التطور ، وان كانت لا تزال الآن تمثل القوة السائدة ، بل على الفئات الاجتماعية التي تتطور والتي لها مستقبل وان كانت ، بعد ، لا تمثل القوة السائدة .

في ١٨٨٠ — ١٨٩٠ ، عهد نضال الماركسيين ضد الشعبيين ، كانت البروليتاريا في روسيا اقلية ضئيلة بالنسبة الى جمهور الفلاحين الفرديين الذين كانوا يؤلفون اكثرية السكان الكبرى . ولكن البروليتاريا كانت تتطور من حيث هي طبقة ، بينما كانت طبقة الفلاحين ، من حيث هي طبقة ، في انحلال .

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ونظراً لان البروليتاريا كانت تتطور من حيث هي طبقة ، اسس الماركسيون عملهم عليها . وهم لم يخطئوا في ذلك . لانه من المعلوم ان البروليتاريا التي لم تكن سوى قوة قليلة الاهمية ، اصبحت فيما بعد قوة تاريخية وسياسية من الدرجة الاولى .

فاذن : لاجل اجتناب الخطأ في السياسة يجب النظر الى الامام لا الى الوراء .

وبعد ، اذا صح ان الانتقال من التغيرات الكمية البطيئة الى تغيرات كيفية فجائية وسريعة ، هو قانون للتطور ، فمن الواضح ان الثورات التي تقوم بها الطبقات المضطهدة هي حادث طبيعي تماماً ، ولا مناص منه .

وبالتالي ، فالانتقال من الرأسمالية الى الاشتراكية وتحرر الطبقة العاملة من النير الرأسمالي ، يمكن تحقيقهما ، لا بتغييرات بسيطة بطيئة ، ولا باصلاحات ، بل بتغيير كيفي للنظام الرأسمالي فقط ، اي بالثورة .

واذن من اجل اجتناب الخطأ في السياسة يجب ان يكون الانسان ثورياً ، لا اصلاحياً .

وبعد ، اذا صح ان التطور يجري بانبثاق التناقضات الداخلية ، وبالنزاع بين القوى المتضادة على اساس هذه التناقضات ، وان غاية هذا النزاع هي قهر هذه التناقضات والتغلب عليها ، فمن الواضح ان نضال البروليتاريا الطبقي هو حادث طبيعي تماماً ، ولا مناص منه .

وبالتالي ، لا ينبغي اخفاء تناقضات النظام الرأسمالي ، بل ينبغي ابرازها وعرضها ، ولا ينبغي خنق النضال الطبقي ، بل ينبغي القيام به الى النهاية .

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واذن ، من اجل اجتناب الخطاء في السياسة يجب اتباع سياسة بروليتارية طبقية حازمة ، لا سياسة اصلاحية تقول بالتناسق بين مصالح البروليتاريا ومصالح البرجوازية ، ولا سياسة تفاهمية تقول بـ « ادماج » الرأسمالية في الاشتراكية.

هذا ما تقول به الطريقة الديالكتيكية الماركسية ، لدى تطبيقها على الحياة الاجتماعية ، على تاريخ المجتمع.

اما المادية الفلسفية الماركسية ، فهي بدورها ، تعارض المثالية الفلسفية من حيث الاساس وعلى خط مستقيم.

٢ – تتميز المادية الفلسفية الماركسية بالخطوط الاساسية التالية :

ا) خلافاً للمثالية التي تعتبر العالم تجسداً لـ « الفكرة المطلقة » (١) او لـ « العقل الكلي » (٢) او لـ « الوعي » (٣)، تسير مادية ماركس الفلسفية من المبدأ القائل ان العالم ، بطبيعته ، مادي ، وان حوادث العالم المتعددة هي مظاهر مختلفة للمادة المتحركة ، وان العلاقات المتبادلة بين الحوادث وتكييف بعضها بعضاً بصورة متبادلة ، كما تقررها الطريقة الديالكتيكية ، هي قوانين ضرورية لتطور المادة المتحركة ، وان العالم يتطور تبعاً لقوانين حركة المادة ، وهو ليس بحاجة لاي « عقل كلي ».

يقول انجلس :

« ان الفهم المادي للعالم يعني ، بكل بساطة ، فهم الطبيعة كما هي دون اية اضافة غريبة »

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(١) Idée Absolue (٢) Esprit Universel
(٣) Conscience

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(فردريك انجلس : لودفيغ فورباخ ، الطبعة الالمانية ، الصفحة ٦٠ ، موسكو)

ولقد كتب لينين بصدد المفهوم المادي عند فيلسوف العهد القديم هيراكليت ، الذي جاء فيه ان « ... العالم هو واحد ، لم يخلقه اي إله ولا اي انسان وقد كان ولا يزال وسيكون شعلة حية الى الابد ،تشتعل وتنطفىء تبعاً لقوانين معينة ...» فقال :

« ياله من شرح رائع لمبادىء المادية الديالكتيكية » (لينين : الدفاتر الفلسفية ، ص ٣١٨ - الطبعة الروسية)

ب) خلافاً للمثالية التي تؤكد ان شعورنا وحده هو الموجود واقعياً ، وان العالم المادي ، والكائن،والطبيعة، لا توجد الا في ادراكنا واحساساتنا ،وتخيلاتنا،وتصوراتنا، تقوم المادية الفلسفية الماركسية على مبدأ آخر وهو ان المادة ، والطبيعة ، والكائن ، هي حقيقة موضوعية (١) موجودة خارج الادراك او الشعور وبصورة مستقلة عنه ، وان المادة هي عنصر اول لانها منبع الاحساسات ، والتصورات ، والادراك ، بينما الادراك هو عنصر ثان ، مشتق ، لانه انعكاس المادة ، انعكاس الكائن، وان الفكر هو نتاج المادة لما بلغت في تطورها درجة عالية من الكمال، او بتعبير ادق ، ان الفكر هو نتاج الدماغ ، والدماغ هو عضو التفكير ، فلا يمكن ، بالتالي ، فصل الفكر عن المادة دون الوقوع في خطأ كبير .

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(١) Objective

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يقول انجلس :

« ان مسألة علاقة الفكر بالكائن، او علاقة العقل بالطبيعة ، هي المسألة العليا في كل فلسفة . وكان الفلاسفة تبعاً لاجابتهم على هذه المسألة ، ينقسمون الى معسكرين كبيرين : فاولئك الذين كانوا يؤكدون تقدم العقل على الطبيعة ، يؤلفون معسكر المثالية ، والآخرون الذين كانوا يقررون تقدم الطبيعة ، ينتمون الى مختلف مدارس المادية »

(فريدريك انجلس : لودفيغ فورباخ ونهاية الفلسفة الكلاسيكية الالمانية ، ص ٢٢ و٢٣)

ويقول فيما بعد :

« ان العالم المادي ، الذي تدركه حواسنا ، والذي ننتمي اليه نحن انفسنا ، هو الواقع الوحيد، اما ادراكنا وفكرنا فهما، مهما ظهرا رفيعين ساميين ، ليسا سوى نتاج عضو مادي جسدي، هو الدماغ ... ان المادة ليست من نتاج العقل ، بل ان العقل نفسه ليس سوى نتاج المادة الاعلى » (المرجع ذاته : ص ٢٦)

ولقد قال ماركس بصدد قضية المادة والفكر :

« لا يمكن فصل الفكر عن المادة المفكرة . فان هذه المادة هي جوهر كل التغيرات التي تحدث »

(فردريك انجلس : الاشتراكية الطوباوية والاشتراكية العلمية ، المقدمة)

ولما عرف لينين المادية الفلسفية الماركسية افصح عن رأيه بالعبارات التالية :

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« تقبل المادية بصورة عامة ان الكائن الواقعي الموضوعي (المادة) هو مستقل عن الادراك، عن الاحساسات ، عن التجربة ... فالادراك... ليس الا انعكاس الكائن ، وهو في احسن الحالات ، انعكاس صحيح تقريباً (اي انعكاس تام ، بالغ أعلى درجات الدقة) » (لينين : المؤلفات الكاملة. المجلد ١٣ ، ص ٢٦٦-٢٦٧ ، الطبعة الروسية).

وقال فيما بعد :

« المادة هي ما ينتج الاحساسات بالتأثير في اعضاء حواسنا ، المادة هي واقع موضوعي تعطينا اياه الاحساسات .

«المادة ، والطبيعة ، والكائن ، والموجود الفيزيائي (١) هي العنصر الاول ، بينما العقل ، والادراك ، والاحساسات، والموجود النفسي (٢) هي العنصر الثاني» (المرجع ذاته: ص١١٩-١٢٠).

« ان لوحة العالم هي لوحة تبين كيف تتحرك المادة وكيف «تفكر المادة» (المرجع ذاته: ص٢٨٨)

« الدماغ هو عضو التفكير » (المرجع ذاته: ص ١٢٥) .

ج) خلافاً للمثالية التي تنكر امكان معرفة العالم وقوانينه ولا تؤمن بقيمة معارفنا ، ولا تعترف بالحقيقة الموضوعية وتعتبر ان العالم مملوء بـ«اشياء قائمة بذاتها » (٣)

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(١) Le Physique

(٢) Le Psychique

(٣) Choses en soi

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ولن يتوصل العلم ابداً الى معرفتها ، تقوم المادية الفلسفية الماركسية على المبدأ القائل انه من الممكن تماماً معرفة العالم وقوانينه ، وان معرفتنا لقوانين الطبيعة ، تلك المعرفة التي يحققها العمل والتجربة ، هي معرفة ذات قيمة ، ولها معنى حقيقة موضوعية ، وان ليس في العالم اشياء لا تمكن معرفتها ، وانما فيه اشياء لا تزال مجهولة بعد ، وهي ستكتشف وتصبح معروفة بوسائل العلم والعمل .

وينتقد انجلس رأي «كانت[١]» والمثاليين الآخرين القائل انه ليس من الممكن معرفة العالم و « الاشياء بذاتها » ، ويدافع عن الرأي المادي المعروف القائل بان معارفنا صحيحة . وقد كتب انجلس في هذا الموضوع ما يلي :

« ان اعظم رد حاسم لهذه النزغة [٢] الفلسفية ولكل نزغة اخرى غيرها هو العمل ، وعلى الاخص التجربة والصناعة . فاذا استطعنا ان نبرهن على صحة فهمنا لحادث طبيعي بخلق هذا الحادث بانفسنا ، وباحداثه بمساعدة شروطه ، وباستخدامه ، فوق ذلك ، في سبيل اغراضنا ، ففي ذلك القضاء المبرم على « الشيء بذاته » والذي لا يمكن ادراكه ، مما يذهب اليه « كانت » . فان المواد الكيماوية الناتجة من الاجسام النباتية والحيوانية ، ظلت

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[١] عمانوئيل كانت KANT [١٧٤٢-١٨٠٤] : فيلسوف الماني من كبار فلاسفة العصور الحديثة ، واضع المذهب المسمى بـ « المثالية النقدية » التي فتحت الطريق لتطور المثالية الديالكتيكية المطلقة التي وضعها هيغل فيما بعد [المعرب] .

(٢) نزغة : هراء وهوس (Lubie)

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« اشياء قائمة بذاتها » الى ان اخذت الكيمياء العضوية بتحضيرها الواحدة بعد الاخرى ، وبذلك اصبح « الشيء بذاته » شيئاً كائناً من اجلنا ، كالاليزارين ، مثلاً ، وهي المادة الصباغية في نبات الفوة (١) ، التي لم نعد نستخرجها من جذور الفوة المزروعة في الحقول ، بل نسحبها بثمن ارخص وبصورة ابسط من قطران الفحم الحجري . وقد بقي نظام « كوبرنيك »(٢) الشمسي خلال ثلاثماية سنة ، فرضية يمكن المراهنة على صحتها بمئة او بألف او بعشرة آلاف ضد واحد ، الا انها كانت ، رغم كل شيء ، فرضية ولكن لما حسب « لوفيرييه »(٣) بمساعدة ارقام حصل عليها بفضل هذا النظام ، ليس فقط ضرورة وجود كوكب مجهول ، بل ايضاً المكان الذي يجب ان يكون فيه هذا الكوكب في الفضاء السماوي ، ولما اكتشف « غال » هذا الكوكب فعلاً فيما بعد ، حينئذ تم البرهان على صحة نظام كوبرنيك » (فردريك انجلس : لودفيك فورباخ ونهاية الفلسفة الكلاسيكية الالمانية ص ٢٤)

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(١) La Garance

(٢) نيقولا كوبرنيك (١٤٦٣-١٥٤٣) : عالم فلكي بولوني برهن على حركة الكواكب السيارة ودورانها حول نفسها من جهة ، وحول الشمس من جهة اخرى (المعرب) .

(٣) لوفيرييه Leverrier (١٨١١-١٨٧٧) : عالم فلكي فرنسي قام بحسابات فلكية برهن بموجبها على ضرورة وجود كوكب سيار عين محله بالضبط ، وقد اكتشف هذا الكوكب فعلاً فيما بعد وسمي نبتون (المعرب) .

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واتهم لينين بوغدانوف وبازاروف وبوشكيفيتش وانصار « ماخ » الآخرين بـ « الايمانية » (وهي نظرية رجعية تضع الايمان فوق العلم) ، ودافع عن النظرة المادية المشهورة القائلة بان معارفنا العلمية عن قوانين الطبيعة هي صحيحة ، وان القوانين العلمية هي حقائق موضوعية ، وقد قال في هذا الموضوع ما يلي :

« ان « الايمانية » لا تنبذ العلم ابداً ، بل تنبذ « مزاعمه المتطرفة » ، اي زعمه الكشف عن الحقيقة الموضوعية . لانه اذا كان هناك حقيقة موضوعية (كما يفكر الماديون) واذا كانت علوم الطبيعة ، التي تعكس العالم الخارجي في « التجربة » البشرية ، هي وحدها القادرة على اعطائنا الحقيقة الموضوعية ، اصبح من الواجب نبذ كل نظرية ايمانية على الاطلاق » (لينين : المؤلفات الكاملة ، المجلد ١٣ ، ص ١٠٢ — الطبعة الروسية)

تلك هي بايجاز الخطوط التي تميز المادية الفلسفية الماركسية .

ومن السهل ان ندرك الاهمية العظمى لتطبيق مبادىء المادية الفلسفية على درس الحياة الاجتماعية ، على درس تاريخ المجتمع ، كما انه من السهل ان ندرك الاهمية العظمى لتطبيق هذه المبادىء على تاريخ المجتمع ، على النشاط العملي لحزب البروليتاريا .

فاذا صح ان الصلة بين حوادث الطبيعة وتكييف بعضها بعضاً بصورة متبادلة ، هما قانونان ضروريان من قوانين تطور الطبيعة ، نتج من ذلك ان الصلة بين حوادث الحياة الاجتماعية وتكييف بعضها بعضاً بصورة متبادلة ، ليسا مجرد

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احتمالات ، بل هما ايضاً قانونان ضروريان من قوانين التطور الاجتماعي .

وبالتالي ، تخرج الحياة الاجتماعية ، وتاريخ المجتمع عن كونهما تكدس « احتمالات » ، بل يصبح تاريخ المجتمع تطوراً ضرورياً للمجتمع ، وتصبح دراسة التاريخ الاجتماعي علماً .

وعلى ذلك ، يجب ان يكون النشاط العملي لحزب البروليتاريا مؤسساً لا على الرغبات المحمودة « لنخبة من الافراد » ولا على مقتضيات « العقل » (١) و « الاخلاق الكلية » (٢) ... الخ ... بل على قوانين التطور الاجتماعي ، وعلى دراسة هذه القوانين .

وبعد ، اذا صح ان معرفة العالم ممكنة ، وان معرفتنا لقوانين تطور الطبيعة هي معرفة صحيحة لها دلالة حقيقة « موضوعية » ، نتج من ذلك ان معرفة الحياة الاجتماعية ، ومعرفة التطور الاجتماعي هي ايضاً ممكنة ، وان المعلومات التي يقدمها العلم عن قوانين التطور الاجتماعي هي معلومات مقبولة ، لها دلالة حقائق موضوعية .

وبالتالي ، من الممكن ان يصبح علم تاريخ المجتمع ، رغم تعقد حوادث الحياة الاجتماعية وتشابكها ، علماً فيه من الدقة ما في البيولوجيا (٣) مثلاً وقادراً على استخدام قوانين التطور الاجتماعي في تطبيقات عملية .

وبالتالي ، يجب على حزب البروليتاريا ، في نشاطه

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(١) La Raison (٢) Morale Universelle

(٣) البيولوجيا Biologie : علم يدرس تركيب الانواع الحية من حيوانية او نباتية وتطورها (المعرب)

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العملي، ان لا يستوحي اي سبب طارىء اياً كان ، بل ان يستوحي قوانين التطور الاجتماعي والنتائج العملية التي تنتج من هذه القوانين .

وبالتالي ، تصبح الاشتراكية علماً ، بعد ان كانت فيما مضى حلماً بمستقبل احسن للانسانية .

وبالتالي ، ينبغي ان يصبح الارتباط والوحدة بين العلم والنشاط العملي، بين النظريات والعمليات، الكوكب الذي يهتدي به حزب البروليتاريا .

وبعد، اذا صح ان الطبيعة ، او الكائن او العالم المادي ، هو العنصر الاول ، بينما الادراك ، او الفكر ، هو العنصر الثاني ، المشتق ، واذا صح ان العالم المادي هو واقع موضوعي موجود بصورة مستقلة عن ادراك الناس، بينما الادراك هو انعكاس هذا الواقع الموضوعي ، نتج من ذلك : ان حياة المجتمع المادية ، او موجود المجتمع ، هو ايضاً العنصر الاول ، اما حياة المجتمع العقلية فهي عنصر ثان ، مشتق ، وان حياة المجتمع المادية هي واقع موضوعي موجود بصورة مستقلة عن ارادة الانسان ، اما حياة المجتمع العقلية فهي انعكاس هذا الواقع الموضوعي او انعكاس الموجود .

وبالتالي يجب البحث عن منشأ حياة المجتمع العقلية، وعن اصل الافكار الاجتماعية ، والنظريات الاجتماعية ، والآراء السياسية ، والاوضاع السياسية ، لا في الافكار والنظريات، ولا في الاراء والاوضاع السياسية نفسها ، بل في شروط الحياة المادية للمجتمع ، في الموجود الاجتماعي الذي تكون هذه الافكار والنظريات والاراء وما اليها انعكاساً له .

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وبالتالي ، اذا كنا نشاهـــد في مختلف ادوار تاريخ المجتمع ، افكاراً ونظريات اجتماعية مختلفة ، وآراء واوضاعاً سياسية متباينة ، اذا كنا نجد تحت نظام الرق هذه الافكار والنظريات الاجتماعية ، وتلك الاراء والاوضاع السياسية ، بينما نجد غيرها تحت الاقطاعية ، وغيرها ايضاً تحت الرأسمالية ، فتفسير ذلك ليس في « طبيعة » الافكار والنظريات والاراء والاوضاع السياسية نفسها ولا في خصائصها ، بل في شروط الحياة المادية للمجتمع في مختلف ادوار التطور الاجتماعي.

فالموجود الاجتماعي وشروط الحياة المادية للمجتمع هي التي تعـين افكار المجتمع ، ونظرياته وآراءه السياسية ، واوضاعه السياسية .

وقد كتب ماركس في هذا الموضوع ما يلي :

« ليس ادراك الناس هو الذي يحدد معيشتهم ، بل على العكس من ذلك ، ان معيشتهم الاجتماعية هي التي تحدد ادراكهم » (كارل ماركس : مساهمة في نقد الاقتصاد السياسي ، المقدمة)

وبالتالي ، لاجل اجتناب الخطأ في السياسة وعـــدم الاستسلام لاحلام فارغة ، يجب على حزب البروليتاريا ان يؤسس عمله ليس على « مبادىء العقل الانساني » المجردة ، بل على الظروف الواقعية لحياة المجتمع المادية ، هذه الظروف التي تكون القوة الحاسمة في التطور الاجتماعي ، ويجب عليه ان يبني عمله ليس على رغبات « عظام الرجال » المحمودة ، بل على الحاجات الواقعية الحقيقية لتطور حياة المجتمع المادية.

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ان مما يفسر سقوط الطوباويين(١)، بما فيهم الشعبيون(٢) والفوضويون(٣)، والاشتراكيون الثوريون(٤)، هو انهم لم

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(١) الطوباويون Utopistes : هم بصورة عامة ، المفكرون والفلاسفة او المصلحون الذين لا يدرسون التطور الواقعي للمجتمع ، بل يفكرون في اصلاح المجتمع بالدعوة الى برامج خيالية مستمدة من رغباتهم واحلامهم . — المعرب .

(٢) الشعبيون Populistes : جماعة من الشباب المثقف الثوري، ظهرت في روسيا في اواخر القرن الماضي . وكانت تعتقد ان جماهير الفلاحين هي القوة الرئيسية في مكافحة القيصرية ، فاخذ افرادها يرتدون ملابس الفلاحين ويؤمون الارياف « ذاهبين الى الشعب » ، كما كانوا يقولون ، ومن هنا تسميتهم بالشعبيين . ولكنهم فشلوا في جر الفلاحين اليهم ، فيأسوا والتجأوا الى اعمال الارهاب الفردي بقتل افراد من رجال الحكم ، وكانوا ينكرون دور الطبقة العاملة ، ويقولون ان التاريخ هو من صنع افراد ممتازين وابطال مختارين ينقاد لهم الجمهور او « الرعاع » انقياداً اعمى . وقد كافح لينين اراءهم واجهز عليها . وقد انتهى الشعبيون ، بعد ان سحقت الحكومة القيصرية حزبهم ، الى اعتزال النضال الثوري واخذوا يدعون الى التفاهم مع الحكومة القيصرية وصاروا ممثلين لمصالح اغنياء المزارعين — المعرب .

(٣) الفوضوية Anarchisme : مذهب اجتماعي سياسي قديم في حركة العمال، قائم على انكار كل سلطة وكل نظام ، والتبشير بالفوضى وسيادة الفرد ، وانكار فائدة النضال السياسي ونفي ضرورة تأليف حزب سياسي للعمال ، والدعوة بوجه خاص الى الغاء الدولة ومحوها . وقد قويت الفوضوية في القرن التاسع عشر لما كانت الطبقة العاملة متأخرة وفي اوائل تطورها . ومن زعمائها في ذلك العهد برودون وباكونين .

والماركسية هي ضد الفوضوية على خط مستقيم ، وخصوصاً في مسألة الدولة . فالماركسية تقول ان من واجب العمال، بعد القضاء على النظام والدولة الرأسماليين ، ان يبنوا دولتهم الشعبية لانها ضرورية لهم في مرحلة الانتقال كاداة لقمع مقاومة الطبقات الرجعية المغلوبة. وان الدولة لن تتلاشى الا شيئاً فشيئاً مع تطور الاشتراكية في مراحلها العليا (المعرب)

(٤) جماعة ظهرت في روسيا بعد انحلال الشعبيين بزمن ، وكانت تمثل مصالح المزارعين الاغنياء (وهم من كبار الاقطاعيين) ،

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يكونوا يعترفون بالدور الاولي الذي تلعبه ظروف الحياة المادية للمجتمع في تطور المجتمع ، فقد وقعوا في المثالية ، فلم يبنوا نشاطهم العملي على حاجات تطور الحياة المادية للمجتمع ، بل بنوه بصورة مستقلة عن هذه الحاجات وبالرغم منها ، على برامج « مثالية » و « مشاريع عامة » منفصلة عن حياة المجتمع الواقعية .

ان مصدر قوة الماركسية اللينينية وحيويتها ، هو انها تستند في نشاطها العملي الى حاجات تطور الحياة المادية للمجتمع ، دون ان تنفصل ابداً عن حياة المجتمع الواقعية .

غير انه لا ينتج من اقوال ماركس ان الافكار والنظريات الاجتماعية ، والاراء والاوضاع السياسية ، ليس لها خطورتها في الحياة الاجتماعية ، او انها لا تؤثر تأثيراً مقابلاً في المعيشة الاجتماعية ، وفي تطور الشروط المادية للحياة الاجتماعية . فحن لم نتكلم حتى الان الا عن اصل الافكار والنظريات الاجتماعية ، والاراء والاوضاع السياسية ، وعن نشوئها وظهورها ، فقلنا ان حياة المجتمع الروحية هي انعكاس لظروف حياته المادية . اما من حيث خطورة هذه الافكار والنظريات الاجتماعية ، وهذه الاراء والاوضاع السياسية ، وعملها في التاريخ ، فالمادية التاريخية لا تنكر ذلك ، بل انها على العكس تشير اشارة خاصة الى عملها وخطورتها العظيمين في الحياة الاجتماعية وفي تاريخ المجتمع .

وتعارض القيصرية ولكن لا تدعو الى النضال الثوري ضدها بل تعمل للتفاهم معها . ويعتبر الاشتراكيون الثوريون في الواقع احفاد الشعبيين.
(المعرب)

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ان الافكار والنظريات الاجتماعية تختلف . فثمة افكار ونظريات عتيقة فات اوانهـا ، وهي تخدم مصالح القوى الآخذة بالاضمحلال والفناء في المجتمع . فخطورتها مقتصرة على انها تكبح تطور المجتمع وتعوق رقيه . وثمـة افكار ونظريات جديدة ، افكار الطليعة ونظرياتها ، تخدم مصالح قوى الطليعة في المجتمع ، وخطورتها قائمة على انهـا تسهل تطور المجتمع ورقيه ، وهي، فوق ذلك ، كلما كان عكسها لحاجات تطور الحياة المادية للمجتمع اصدق، كانت الخطورة التي تكتسبها اكبر .

ان الافكار والنظريات الاجتماعية الجديدة، لا تبرز الا عندما يضع تطور الحياة المادية للمجتمع ، مهمات جديـدة امام المجتمع . ولكنهـا اذا ما برزت اصبحت قوة ذات خطورة من الدرجة العليا ، تسهل انجـاز المهمات الجديدة التي يضعها تطور الحياة المادية للمجتمع،وتسهل رقي المجتمع. وتبـــدو اذ ذاك خطورة الدور الذي تقوم به الافكار والنظريات الجديدة،والآراء والاوضاع السياسية الجديدة، كقوة تنظيم وتعبئة وتحويل . وفي الحقيقـة ، ان الافكار والنظريات الاجتماعية الجديدة انما تظهر لانها ضرورية للمجتمع، فبدون عملها المنظم والمعبىء والمحول ، يستحيل حل المسائل العاجلة الملحة التي يقتضيها تطور الحياة المادية للمجتمع .

فالافكار والنظريات الاجتماعية الجديدة، التي يبعثها ما يضعه تطور حياة المجتمع المادية من مهمات جديدة ، تشق لنفسها الطريق ، وتتبناها الجماهير الشعبية ، فتعبىء هـذه الجماهير وتنظمها ضد القوى المتلاشية في المجتمع،وتسهل بذلك القضاء على هذه القوى التي تكبح تطور الحياة المادية للمجتمع.

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وهكذا اذن: الافكار والنظريات الاجتماعية والاوضاع السياسية تتولد من المهمات العاجلة التي يضعها تطور الحياة المادية للمجتمع ، ثم تؤثر هي نفسها فيما بعد في المعيشة الاجتماعية ، وفي حياة المجتمع المادية ، بخلقها الشروط اللازمة لحل المسائل العاجلة الملحة في حياة المجتمع المادية ، وجعل تطور المجتمع الى الامام ممكناً .

وقد قال ماركس في هذا الموضوع :

«تصبح النظرية قوة مادية مذ دخولها في الجماهير»

(كارل مارس : نقد فلسفة الحق لهيغل) .

فاذن : لاجل ان يستطيع حزب البروليتاريا التأثير في شروط الحياة المادية للمجتمع ، وتعجيل تطورها وتحسينها، يجب عليه ان يستند الى نظرية اجتماعية تفصح بدقة عن حاجات تطور الحياة المادية للمجتمع ، وتكون بذلك قادرة على تحريك الجماهير الشعبية الغفيرة، وقادرة على تعبئتها وتنظيمها في جيش حزب البروليتاريا الكبير، هذا الجيش المستعد لتحطيم القوى الرجعية، وشق الطريق للقوى المتقدمة في المجتمع .

ان مما يفسر سقوط «الاقتصاديين»(١) والمنشفيك ، انهم كانوا لا يعترفون بالدور المعبىء والمنظم والمحول الذي تقوم به نظرية الطليعة ، وفكرة الطليعة . اذ انهم وقعوا في

(١) الاقتصاديون Economistes : جماعة انتهازية ظهرت في حركة العمال الروسية وكانت تزعم ان مهمة العمال هي النضال الاقتصادي فقط ، اما النضال السياسي ضد الحكومة القيصرية فيجب تركه للبورجوازية الحرة . وكانت تصرح بوجوب العدول عن تأليف حزب سياسي بروليتاري مستقل ، والرجوع عن المطالب السياسية المستقلة التي تنادي بها الطبقة العاملة . وكان للاقتصاديين الروس زملاء انتهازيون في كل الاقطار الاوروبية — المعرب

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المادية المبتذلة فجعلوا هذا الدور في حكم العدم تقريباً ، ولذلك كانوا يحملون الحزب على ان يبقى انفعالياً جامداً وان يقبع دون نضال ودون عمل .

وان مصدر قوة الماركسية اللينينية ، ومنبع حيويتها ، هو انها تستند الى نظرية متقدمة هي نظرية الطليعة ، التي تنعكس فيها بدقة حاجات تطور الحياة المادية للمجتمع ، وانها تضع النظرية في المكان الرفيع اللائق بها ، وتعتبر ان من واجبها الاستفادة الى النهاية من قوتها المجندة والمنظمة والمحولة .

على هذه الصورة تحل المادية التاريخية مسألة العلاقات بين الموجود الاجتماعي والوجدان الاجتماعي ، بين شروط تطور الحياة المادية وتطور الحياة الروحية للمجتمع .

ولكن بقيت مسألة تحتاج الى ايضاح : ماذا ينبغي ان نفهم من وجهة نظر المادية التاريخية ، عندما نقول «شروط الحياة المادية للمجتمع » التي تحدد ، في النهاية ، هيئة المجتمع وافكاره وآراءه واوضاعه السياسية وما اليها ؟

ما هي شروط حياة المجتمع المادية ؟ ما هي الخطوط التي تميزها ؟

من المؤكد ان مفهوم « شروط حياة المجتمع المادية » يشمل ، قبل كل شيء ، الطبيعة التي تحيط بالمجتمع ، او الوسط الجغرافي الذي يؤلف احد الشروط الضرورية الدائمة لحياة المجتمع المادية والذي يؤثر ولا ريب في تطور المجتمع. فما هو اثر الوسط الجغرافي في التطور الاجتماعي؟ الا يكون الوسط الجغرافي القوة الرئيسية التي تحدد هيئة المجتمع ، وتعين طابع نظام الناس الاجتماعي ، وتقرر الانتقال من

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نظام الى آخر ؟

تجيب المادية التاريخية عن هذا السؤال بالنفي. فالوسط الجغرافي هو، دون جدال، احد الشروط الدائمة والضرورية لتطور المجتمع ، ومن المؤكد انه يؤثر في هذا التطور، فهو يعجل او يبطىء مجرى التطور الاجتماعي، ولكن ليس هذا التأثير حاسماً، لأن تطور المجتمع وتغيراته تجري بصورة اسرع بكثير من تطور الوسط الجغرافي وتغيراته . فقد تتالت على اوروبا خلال ثلاثة آلاف سنة ثلاثة انظمة اجتماعية مختلفة هي المشاعية الابتدائية ، والرق ، والنظام الاقطاعي ، بل تعاقبت في شرق اوروبا في اراضي الاتحاد السوفياتي ، اربعة انظمة . اما شروط اوروبا الجغرافية فلم تتغير قط خلال هذه المرحلة نفسها. واذا كان قد طرأ عليها بعض التغير فهو طفيف جداً ، حتى ان الجغرافيين يهملون التحدث عنه . وهذا مفهوم ، لأن حدوث تغييرات لها شيء من الخطورة في الوسط الجغرافي يحتاج الى ملايين السنين ، بينما تكفي بضع مئات السنين او حوالي الفي سنة لحدوث تغييرات هامة جداً في نظام الناس الاجتماعي .

ينتج من ذلك ان الوسط الجغرافي لا يمكن ان يكون السبب الاساسي او السبب الحاسم للتطور الاجتماعي ، اذ ان ما يبقى دون تغيير تقريباً ، خلال عشرات الالوف من السنين، لا يمكن ان يكون السبب الاساسي لتطور شيء معرض لتغييرات اساسية خلال بضع مئات السنين .

ومن المؤكد ايضاً ان نمو السكان وكثافتهم يدخلان في مفهوم « شروط الحياة المادية للمجتمع » ، لأن الناس هم عنصر اساسي لا بد منه في شروط الحياة المادية للمجتمع ، .

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وبدون حد ادنى من الناس لا يمكن ان تكون هنالك اية حياة مادية للمجتمع ، أفلا يكون نمو السكان و كثافتهم القوة الاساسية التي تحدد طابع نظام الناس الاجتماعي ؟

تجيب المادية التاريخية عن هذا السؤال ايضاً بالنفي. لا جرم ان نمو السكان يؤثر في التطور الاجتماعي ، فيسهله او يبطئه ، ولكن لا يمكن ان يكون القوة الاساسية للتطور الاجتماعي ، ولا يمكن ان يكون تأثيره فيه تأثيراً حاسماً ، لأن نمو الناس من حيث هو ، لا يعطينا مفتاح السؤال التالي : لماذا يعقب هذا النظام الاجتماعي ذاك النظام الاجتماعي لا غيره ؟ لماذا يعقب نظام الرق المشاعية الابتدائية ؟ ولماذا يعقب النظام الاقطاعي نظام الرق ؟ ولماذا يعقب النظام البورجوازي لا غيره ، النظام الاقطاعي ؟

فلو كان نمو السكان هو القوة الاساسية للتطور الاجتماعي ، لكان من الواجب ، بالضرورة ، ان ينشأ عن ازدياد كثافة السكان ، نوع من نظام اجتماعي أعلى وارقى ، وهو امر غير واقع. فكثافة السكان هي في الصين اعلى باربع مرات منها في الولايات المتحدة ، ومع ذلك فالولايات المتحدة هي في مستوى اعلى من الصين من حيث التطور الاجتماعي ، فلا يزال النظام السائد في الصين نظاماً نصف اقطاعي في حين ان الولايات المتحدة قد بلغت منذ امد طويل المرحلة العليا للتطور الرأسمالي . وكثافة السكان في بلجيكا أعلى بتسع عشرة مرة منها في الولايات المتحدة ، وبست وعشرين مرة منها في الاتحاد السوفياتي ، ومع ذلك فالولايات المتحدة هي في مستوى أرقى من بلجيكا من حيث التطور الاجتماعي ، اما بالنسبة للاتحاد السوفياتي ، فلا تزال بلجيكا متأخرة عهداً

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تاريخياً كاملا ، لأنه يسود باجيكا النظام الرأسمالي ، في حين ان الاتحاد السوفياتي قد انتهى من الرأسمالية واقام لديه النظام الاشتراكي .

ينتج من ذلك ان نمو السكان ليس ولا يمكن ان يكون القوة الاساسية لتطور المجتمع ، اي القوة التي تحدد طابع النظام الاجتماعي وهيئة المجتمع .

أ) ولكن ما هي اذن، في مجموعة شروط الحياة المادية للمجتمع ، القوة الاساسية التي تحدد هيئة المجتمع وطابع النظام الاجتماعي وتقرر تطور المجتمع من نظام الى اخر ؟

تعتبر المادية التاريخية ان هذه القوة هي اسلوب الحصول على وسائل المعيشة الضرورية لحياة الناس ، اي اسلوب انتاج الحاجات المادية كالغذاء واللباس والاحذية والمسكن والوقود وادوات الانتاج ... الخ التي لا بد منها حتى يستطيع المجتمع ان يحيا وان يتطور .

فلا بد ، لاجل الحياة، من غذاء ولباس واحذية ومسكن ووقود الخ ... ولاجل الحصول على هذه الحوائج المادية ، يجب انتاجها ، ولاجل انتاجها لا بد من ادوات الانتاج التي ينتج الناس بمعونتها الغذاء واللباس والاحذية والمسكن والوقود الخ .. ولا بد من معرفة انتاج هذه الادوات ولا بد من معرفة استخدامها .

فادوات الانتاج التي بمعونتها تنتج الحوائج المادية ، والناس الذين يستعملون ادوات الانتاج هذه ، وينتجون الحوائج المادية بفضل ما لديهم من تجربة في الانتاج ومن عادات للعمل ، تلك هي العناصر التي تؤلف ، بمجموعها ،

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قوى المجتمع المنتجة .

ولكن القوى المنتجة لا تؤلف الا جانباً واحداً من الانتاج اي جانباً واحداً من اسلوب الانتاج، وهو الجانب الذي يعبر عن سلوك الناس نحو اشياء الطبيعة وقواها التي يستخدمونها لانتاج الحوائج المادية . اما الجانب الآخر للانتاج ، اي الجانب الآخر لاسلوب الانتاج ، فهو علاقة الناس فيما بينهم اثناء سير الانتاج ، او ما يسمى علاقات الانتاج بين الناس . فالناس في نضالهم مع الطبيعة التي يستثمرونها لانتاج الحوائج المادية، ليسوا منفردين، منعزلاً بعضهم عن بعض، وليسوا افراداً احدهم منفصل عن الآخر، بل هم ينتجون سوية في جماعات او جمعيات. فالانتاج هو، دائماً ومهما تكن الشروط، انتاج اجتماعي. ففي اثناء انتاج الحوائج المادية يقيم الناس فيما بينهم هذه العلاقات او تلك ضمن نطاق الانتاج ، اي يقيمون فيما بينهم هذه او تلك من علاقات الانتاج. ويمكن ان تكون هذه العلاقات علاقات تعاون وتساعد بين اناس محررين من كل استثمار ، ويمكن ان تكون علاقات سيطرة وخضوع، كما يمكن ان تكون علاقات انتقال من شكل من اشكال علاقات الانتاج الى شكل آخر . ولكن مهما يكن الطابع الذي تتسم به علاقات الانتاج فهي دائماً وتحت كل الانظمة، عنصر ضروري لا غنى عنه في الانتاج ، مثلها في ذلك مثل قوى المجتمع المنتجة سواء بسواء .

يقول ماركس :

« في الانتاج ، لا يؤثر الناس في الطبيعة فقط، بل يؤثر بعضهم في بعضهم الاخر ايضاً ، فهم لا

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ينتجون الا بالتعاون فيما بينهم على شكل معين ، ويتبادل النشاط فيما بينهم. ومن اجل ان ينتجوا، يدخل بعضهم مع بعض في صلات وعلاقات معينة، ولا يتم تأثيرهم في الطبيعة ، اي لا يتم الانتاج، الا في حدود هذه الصلات والعلاقات الاجتماعية »
(كارل ماركس: العمل المأجور ورأس المال).

يستخلص من ذلك ان الانتاج ، او اسلوب الانتاج، يشمل قوى المجتمع المنتجة كما يشمل علاقات الانتاج بين الناس سواء بسواء، ففيه يتجسد اتحاد الطرفين خلال عملية انتاج الحوائج المادية .

ب) من خصائص الانتاج انه لا يقف ابداً مدة طويلة في نقطة معينة. فهو دائما في حالة تغير ونمو . وعلاوة على ذلك ، فان تغيّر اسلوب الانتاج يؤدي بصورة حتمية الى تغير النظام الاجتماعي باسره ، وتغير الافكار الاجتماعية والاراء والمؤسسات السياسية . ان تغير اسلوب الانتاج يؤدي الى صهر النظام الاجتماعي والسياسي كله صهراً جديداً. ويستخدم الناس في مختلف درجات التطور، ادوات انتاج مختلفة ، اي انهم ، بعبارة ابسط، يحيون حياة مختلفة. ففي المشاعية الابتدائية اسلوب للانتاج، وفي الرق اسلوب آخر، وفي الاقطاعية اسلوب ثالث، وهكذا. ويختلف نظام الناس الاجتماعي ، وتختلف حياتهم العقلية، وآراؤهم، ومؤسساتهم السياسية، حسب اساليب الانتاج هذه .

ان المجتمع ذاته، وافكاره ونظرياته، وآراءه ومؤسساته السياسية ، تتعلق ، من حيث الاساس ، باسلوب الانتاج في المجتمع .

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او بعبارة ابسط: كل نمط من المعيشة يطابقه نمط من التفكير.

ومعنى هذا ان تاريخ تطور المجتمع هو، قبل كل شيء، تاريخ تطور الانتاج، تاريخ اساليب الانتاج التي تتعاقب خلال العصور، تاريخ تطور القوى المنتجة وعلاقات الانتاج بين الناس.

وبالتالي، فان تاريخ التطور الاجتماعي هو في الوقت نفسه تاريخ منتجي الحوائج المادية، تاريخ الجماهير الكادحة التي هي القوى الاساسية في عملية الانتاج والتي تنتج الحوائج المادية الضرورية لمعيشة المجتمع.

وبالتالي، اذا اراد العلم التاريخي ان يكون علماً حقيقياً كان عليه ان لا يقصر تاريخ التطور الاجتماعي على اعمال الملوك وقادة الجيوش، واعمال «الفاتحين» و«مستعبدي» الدول، بل ان يهتم قبل كل شيء، بتاريخ منتجي الحوائج المادية، تاريخ الجماهير الكادحة، تاريخ الشعوب.

فاذن: يجب ان لا نبحث عن المفتاح الذي يسمح لنا بالكشف عن قوانين تاريخ المجتمع، في ادمغة الناس، او في آراء المجتمع وافكاره، بل يجب ان نبحث عنه في اسلوب الانتاج الذي يمارسه المجتمع خلال كل دور من ادوار التاريخ، اي في الحياة الاقتصادية للمجتمع.

وبالتالي، فمهمة العلم التاريخي الرئيسية هي دراسة وكشف قوانين الانتاج، وقوانين تطور القوى المنتجة وعلاقات الانتاج، او قوانين التطور الاقتصادي للمجتمع.

وبالتالي، اذا اراد حزب البروليتاريا ان يكون حزباً حقيقياً، فيجب عليه ان يتعلم، قبل كل شيء، علم قوانين تطور الانتاج، وقوانين التطور الاقتصادي للمجتمع.

وبالتالي، يجب على حزب البروليتاريا، لاجتناب الخطأ

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في السياسة ، ان يستوحي ، قبل كل شيء، في وضع برنامجه، كما في نشاطه العملي ، قوانين تطور الانتاج وقوانين التطور الاقتصادي للمجتمع .

ج) خاصة الانتاج الثانية هي ان تطوره وتغيراته تبدأ دائماً بتغير القوى المنتجة وتطورها ، وبتغير وتطور ادوات الانتاج قبل غيرها . فالقوى المنتجة هي اذن اكثر عناصر الانتاج حركة وثورة . ففي بادىء الامر تتعدل القوى المنتجة في المجتمع وتتطور ، وبعدئذ ، تبعاً لهذه التعديلات وطبقاً لها ، تتعدل علاقات الانتاج بين الناس، أي علاقاتهم الاقتصادية . غير ان ذلك لا يعني ان علاقات الانتاج لا تؤثر في تطور القوى المنتجة ، او ان هذه لا تتعلق بتلك ، فان علاقات الانتاج ، التي يتعلق تطورها بتطور القوى المنتجة ، تؤثر بدورها في تطور القوى المنتجة، فتعجله او تبطئه . ومن المهم ان نلاحظ ، علاوة على ذلك، ان علاقات الانتاج لا يمكن ان تتأخر امداً طويلاً عن نمو القوى المنتجة وان تبقى في تناقض مع هذا النمو ، لان القوى المنتجة لا تستطيع ان تتطور تطوراً تاماً الا عندما تكون علاقات الانتاج مطابقة لطابع القوى المنتجة وحالتها وتفسح لها مجال التطور بحرية . ولذلك فمهما تتأخر علاقات الانتاج عن تطور القوى المنتجة ، فلا بد من ان ينتهي بها الامر — وهو فعلاً ينتهي — بالمطابقة بينها وبين مستوى تطور القوى المنتجة ، وان تتخذ طابعاً يلائم طابع هذه القوى المنتجة ، والا تعرضت الوحدة التي تجمع ، في نظام الانتاج ، بين القوى المنتجة وعلاقات الانتاج ، الى خطر التفكك ، فيؤدي ذلك الى حدوث انقطاع في مجموع الانتاج،

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الى وقوع أزمة في الانتاج ، الى تحطيم القوى المنتجة .

في الاقطار الرأسمالية -حيث الملكية الخاصة الرأسمالية لوسائل الانتاج ، تناقض ، بصورة بينة ، الطابع الاجتماعي لعملية الانتاج ، اي طابع القوى المنتجة-تكون الازمات الاقتصادية مثالاً للتنافر والخلاف بين علاقات الانتاج وطابع القوى المنتجة ، ومثالا للنزاع الناشب بينها . فان الازمات الاقتصادية ، التي تؤدي الى تحطيم القوى المنتجة ، هي نتيجة هذا الخلاف . وعلاوة على ذلك ، فان هذا الخلاف نفسه هو الاساس الاقتصادي للثورة الاجتماعية المدعوة الى هدم علاقات الانتاج الحالية وخلق علاقات جديدة مطابقة لطابع القوى المنتجة .

اما الاقتصاد الاشتراكي في اتحاد الجمهوريات الاشتراكية السوفياتية - حيث الملكية الاجتماعية لوسائل الانتاج هي في توافق تام مع الطابع الاجتماعي لعملية الانتاج ، وحيث لا نجد ، بالتالي ، لا ازمات اقتصادية ولا تحطيما للقوى المنتجة - فهو مثال للاتفاق التام بين علاقات الانتاج وطابع القوى المنتجة .

فاذن ، ليست القوى المنتجة اكثر عناصر الانتاج حركة وثورة فقط ، بل هي ايضا العنصر الحاسم في تطور الانتاج .

وكما تكون القوي المنتجة ، كذلك يجب ان تكون علاقات الانتاج .

واذا كانت حالة القوى المنتجة تبين بأية ادوات انتاج ينتج الناس الحوائج المادية الضرورية لهم ، فان حالة علاقات الانتاج تبين من جهتها من الذي يملك وسائل الانتاج (الارض ، الاحراج ، المياه ، بطن الارض ، المواد الاولية ،

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ادوات الانتاج ، ابنية الاستثمار، وسائل النقل والمواصلات، الخ ...) ، من الذي يتصرف بوسائل الانتاج ؟ هل هي تحت تصرف المجتمع باسره أم تحت تصرف افراد اوجماعات او طبقات يستخدمونها لاستثمار افراد آخرين ، اوجماعات اخرى او طبقات اخرى ؟ ...

وفيما يلي لوحة تبين الخطوط الكبرى لتطور القوى المنتجة منذ اقدم الازمان الى يومنا هذا : الانتقال من الادوات الحجرية الغليظة الى القوس والسهام ، وبالتالي ، المرور من الصيد الى استخدام الحيوانات وتربية المواشي بشكل ابتدائي ، ثم الانتقال من الادوات الحجرية الى المعدنية (الفأس الحديدية ، المحراث الابتدائي المجهز بسكة مصنوعة من حديد ، الخ ...) وبالتالي الانتقال الى غرس النباتات ، الى الزراعة ، ومن ثم اجراء تحسين جديد في الادوات المعدنية لاجل صنع مختلف المواد وظهور الكور ذي المنفاخ ، وصناعة الاواني الفخارية ، وبالتالي ، تطور الحرف ، وانفصال الحرف عن الزراعة ، وتطور الحرف المستقلة اولا ، ثم المانيفاكتوره(١) فيما بعد ثم الانتقال من

(١) المانيفكتورة Manufacture : شكل من اشكال الانتاج نشأ في عهد انحلال الاقطاعية مع تطور التجارة وازدياد الطلب على المنتجات المصنوعة . فقد كان التجار يشترون قبلاً من الصناع الحرفيين منتجاتهم ليبيعوها بدورهم. ثم اخذوا يقدمون لهم المواد الاولية فيصنعها الصناع بادواتهم . ثم اخذ التاجر يجمع عدداً من الحرفيين تحت سقف واحد ، في مكان واحد ، ويقدم لهم المواد الاولية وادوات الانتاج ايضاً ، وقد سُمي هذا المكان بالمانيفكتورة . وهكذا انقلب الرأسمال التجاري الى رأسمال صناعي ، واصبح الصانع الحرفي عاملاً مأجوراً ليس لديه سوى قوة عمله يبيعها للرأسمالي ويعمل مع زملائه تحت اشرافه في المانيفكتورة [المعرب] .

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ادوات الانتاج الحرفي الى الآلة ، وتحويل الانتاج الحرفي- المانيفاكتوري ، الى صناعة قائمة على الآلة (١) .ومن ثم الانتقال الى نظام الآلات وظهور الصناعة الميكانيكية الحديثة الكبرى .

هذه هي بصورة اجمالية وغير كاملة اللوحة التي تبين تطور قوى المجتمع المنتجة طوال تاريخ البشرية ،ولاحاجة الى القول ان تطور ادوات الانتاج وتحسينها لم يحدثا بصورة مستقلة عن الناس بل حققها الناس الذين لهم علاقة بالانتاج . واذن : فالناس — الذين هم عنصر اساسي في القوى المنتجة — يتغيرون ويتطورون بتغير ادوات الانتاج وتطورها . فقد رأينا ان تجربتهم في الانتاج ، وعاداتهم في العمل ، وقدرتهم على استعمال ادوات الانتاج ، قدتغيرت وتطورت .

وطبقاً لهذه التغيرات وهذا التطور في قوى المجتمع المنتجة خلال التاريخ ، تغيرت وتطورت علاقات الانتاج بين الناس ، اي علاقاتهم الاقتصادية .

ولقد سجل التاريخ خمسة انواع اساسية لعلاقات الانتاج : المشاعية الابتدائية ، الرق ، النظام الاقطاعي ، النظام الرأسمالي والنظام الاشتراكي .

في نظام المشاعية الابتدائية ،تؤلف الملكية الاجتماعية (١) لوسائل الانتاج ، أساس علاقات الانتاج . وذلك يطابق من حيث الاساس طابع القوى المنتجة في هذا الدور . فالادوات الحجرية وكذلك القوس والسهام التي ظهرت فيها

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(١) Industrie Mécanisée

(٢) Collective : الاجماعية او المشتركة (المعرب)

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بعد ، لم تكن تسمح للناس بان يناضلوا منفردين ضدقوى الطبيعة والحيوانات المفترسة . فلاجل قطف الاثار في الغابات ، ولاجل صيد السمك ، ولاجل بناء مسكن ما ، كان الناس مجبرين على العمل معاً بصورة مشتركة ، اذا ما ارادوا اجتناب الموت جوعاً او الوقوع فريسة للحيوانات الضارية او للقبائل المجاورة . ويؤدي العمل المشترك الى الملكية المشتركة لوسائل الانتاج والمنتجات ايضا . فهنا ، اذا استثنينا الملكية الفردية لبعض أدوات الانتاج التي تؤلف في الوقت نفسه اسلحة دفاع ضد الحيوانات المفترسة ، لم نجد معنى لمفهوم الملكية الخاصة لوسائل الانتاج. هنا : لا استثمار ولا طبقات .

وفي نظام الرق تؤلف ملكية سيد العبيد لوسائل الانتاج وللشغيل – اي للعبد الذي يستطيع بيعه وشراءه وقتله كالماشية – اساس علاقات الانتاج ، وعلاقات انتاج كهذه تطابق من حيث الاساس ، حالة القوى المنتجة في هذا الدور . فعوضا عن الادوات الحجرية اصبحت عند الناس الان ادوات معدنية ، وبدلا من اقتصاد يقتصرعلى صيد ابتدائي فقير ويجهل تربية المواشي والزراعة، نشهد ظهور تربية المواشي ، والزراعة وحرف شتى ، وتقسيم العمل بين هذه الفروع المختلفة للانتاج ، كما نشهد ظهور امكان تبادل المنتجات بين الافراد والجماعات وامكان تراكم الثروة بين ايدي عدد ضئيل من الناس وتكدس وسائل الانتاج بصورة فعلية في ايدي اقلية ، وامكان جعل الاكثرية خاضعة للاقلية ،وتحويل اكثرية الناس الى عبيد. فهنا لم يبق عمل مشترك حر يقوم به جميع اعضاء المجتمع خلال سير

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الانتاج . هنا يسود العمل الاجباري ، عمل عبيد يستثمرهم سادة عاطلون منعمون ، ولهذا لم تبق ايضاً ملكية مشتركة لا لوسائل الانتاج ولا للمنتجات اذ قد حلت محلها الملكية الخاصة . هنا : يصبح سيد العبيد هو المالك الاول والرئيسي، المالك المطلق .

اغنياء وفقراء ، مستثمِرون ومستثمَرون ، اناس لهم كل الحقوق، واناس ليس لهم اي حق ، نضال طبقي حاد بين هؤلاء واولئك : تلك هي لوحة نظام الرق !

وفي النظام الاقطاعي تؤلف ملكية النبيل الاقطاعي لوسائل الانتاج ، وملكيته المحدودة للشغيل — وهو القن الذي لم يعد في استطاعة الاقطاعي قتله ، غير ان في امكانه بيعه وشراؤه — اساس علاقات الانتاج . ونجد الى جانب الملكية الاقطاعية ، ملكية الفلاح والحرفي الفردية المشتملة على ادوات الانتاج وعلى اقتصادهما الخاص المؤسس على العمل الشخصي . وعلاقات الانتاج هذه تطابق من حيث الاساس حالة القوى المنتجة في هذا الدور . فان تحسين الحديد المسكوب واتقان معالجة الحديد ، وتعميم استعمال المحراث ونول النسيج وتطور الزراعة والبستنة وصناعة الخمور وصناعة الزيت تطوراً مستمراً ، وظهور المانيفاكتورات الى جانب ورشات الحرفيين ، كل ذلك يؤلف الخصائص المميزة لحالة القوى المنتجة .

وتتطلب القوى المنتجة الجديدة من الشغيل ان يبدي شيئاً من المبادهة والابتكار في الانتاج ، وذوقاً فيما يصنع، واهتماماً بالعمل . ولذلك يتخلى النبيل الاقطاعي عن العبد الرقيق الخالي من كل اهتمام بالعمل، والمحروم من كل مبادهة

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على الاطلاق ، ويفضل ان يعامل قناً يملك اقتصاده الخاص وادوات الانتاج ، ولديه شيء من الاهتمام بالعمل ، هـذا الاهتمام الذي لا بد منه حتى يزرع الارض ويدفع حصة من عين محصوله الى الاقطاعي .

وهنا تتابع الملكية الخاصة تطورها ، ويبقى الاستثمار تقريباً على مثل قسوته في عهد الرق ، يكاد ان لا يلين الا قليلاً . فالنضال الطبقي بين المستثمرين والمستثمَرين ، هو الميزة الاساسية للنظام الاقطاعي .

في النظام الرأسمالي ، تؤلف الملكية الرأسمالية لوسائل الانتاج ، اساس علاقات الانتاج . اما امتلاك المنتجين ، اي العمال المأجورين ، فليس له وجود ، ولا يستطيـــع الرأسمالي قتلهم ولا بيعهم ، لانهم محررون من كل تبعية شخصية . غير انهم محرومون من وسائـــل الانتاج وهم مضطرون ، لكي لا يموتوا جوعاً ، ان يبيعوا قوة عملهم للرأسمالي وان يعانوا نير الاستثمار . وهنالك الى جانب الملكية الرأسمالية لوسائل الانتاج ، ملكية الفلاح والحرفي الخاصة لادوات الانتاج ، بعد ان تحررا من القنـانة . فقد كانت هذه الملكية المؤسسة على العمل الشخصي ، منتشرة انتشاراً واسعاً في بادىء الامر . وحلت الفبارك والمعامل العظيمة المجهزة بالالات ، محـل ورشات الحرفيـــين والمانيفاكتورات ، كما ان الاستثمارات الرأسمالية الكبيرة التي تدار على اساس العلم الزراعي والمجهزة بالآلات الزراعية ، حلت محل املاك النبلاء التي كانت تزرع بواسطة ادوات الفلاحين الابتدائية .

وهذه القوى المنتجة الجديدة تتطلب من الشغيلين ان

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يكونوا اكثر ثقافة وذكاء من الاقنان الجاهلين البلداء ، وان تكون لديهم الكفاءة اللازمة لفهم الآلة، وان يجيدوا استعمالها كما ينبغي . ولهذا يفضل الرأسماليون ان يتعاملوا مع عمال مأجورين محررين من قيود الرق ، وحائزين على ثقافة كافية تساعدهم على استعمال الآلات استعمالا لائقاً .

ولكن الرأسمالية ، لسبب تنميتها القوى المنتجة بنسبة هائلة ، وقعت في تناقضات لا تستطيع حلها . فهي بانتاجها كميات متزايدة من البضائع، وبانقاصها اسعار هذه البضائع، تزيد المزاحمة تفاقماً واشتداداً ، وترمي جماهير الملاكين الفرديين الصغار والمتوسطين في الخراب والدمار، وتجعلهم في حالة البروليتاريين وتخفض مقدرتهم الشرائية، وتكون النتيجة ان تصريف البضائع المصنوعة يضحي مستحيلاً. ان الرأسمالية، بتوسيعها الانتاج وبجمعها ملايين العمال في فبارك ومعامل عظيمة، تطبع عملية الانتاج بطابع اجتماعي، وبذلك تنخر قاعدتها بنفسها، لأن الطابع الاجتماعي لعملية الانتاج، يتطلب ملكية اجتماعية لوسائل الانتاج . ولكن ملكية وسائل الانتاج تبقى ملكية خاصة رأسمالية غير متلائمة مع الطابع الاجتماعي لعملية الانتاج .

ان هذه التناقضات التي لا تحل، بين طابع القوى المنتجة وعلاقات الانتاج ، تظهر في ازمات تزايد الانتاج (١) الدورية ، فنرى الرأسماليين ، نظراً لعدم وجود شارين قادرين على الدفع بسبب خراب الجماهير الذي تقع مسؤوليته عليهم انفسهم ، يضطرون الى حرق المحصولات واتلاف

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[١] Surproduction

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البضائع الجائزة ، ووقف الانتاج ، وتحطيم القوى المنتجة ، بينما ملايين الناس يقاسون آلام البطالة والجوع لا لفقدان البضائع ، بل لكثرة ما انتج منها .

ومعنى هذا ، ان علاقات الانتاج الرأسمالية لم تعد مطابقة لحالة القوى المنتجة ، بل دخلت معها في تناقض لا يحل .

معنى هذا ، ان الرأسمالية تحمل في صلبها ثورة مدعوة الى احلال الملكية الاشتراكية في مكان الملكية الرأسمالية الحالية لوسائل الانتاج .

معنى هذا ، ان نضالا طبقياً حاداً من أشد ما عرف ، بين المستثمِرين والمستثمَرين ، هو الميزة الاساسية للنظام الرأسمالي .

في النظام الاشتراكي الذي لم يتحقق ، حتى الان ، الا في اتحاد الجمهوريات الاشتراكية السوفياتية ، تؤلف الملكية الاجتماعية لوسائل الانتاج اساس علاقات الانتاج . هنا لم يبق لا مستثمِرون ولا مستثمَرون ، وتوزّع المنتجات حسب العمل الذي يقدمه كل انسان ، وتبعاً للمبدأ القائل : «من لا يشتغل لا يأكل» . اما العلاقات بين الناس في عملية الانتاج ، فهي علاقات تعاون اخوي وتساعد اشتراكي بين شغيلة محررين من الاستثمار . وعلاقات الانتاج هذه مطابقة تماماً لحالة القوى المنتجة ، لأن الطابع الاجتماعي لعملية الانتاج ، يجد دعامة له في الملكية الاجتماعية لوسائل الانتاج .

هذا ما يجعل الانتاج الاشتراكي في الاتحاد السوفياتي ، يجهل ازمات تزايد الانتاج الدورية وكل ما يرافقها من غرائب خرقاء .

هذا ما يجعل القوى المنتجة هنا تتطور بسرعة متزايدة ،

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لأن علاقات الانتاج المطابقة لها تفسح لهـذا التطور مجالا حراً رحيباً .

تلك هي لوحة تطور علاقات الانتاج بين الناس، خلال تاريخ الانسانية .

هكذا يسير تطور علاقات الانتاج تبعاً لتطور القوى المنتجة في المجتمع، وتبعاً لتطور ادوات الانتاج قبـل كل شيء . وهذه التبعية هي التي تجعل التغير والتطور في القوى المنتجة يؤديان عاجلا او آجلاً الى تغير وتطور مطابقين في علاقات الانتاج .

يقول ماركس :

« ان استعمال وسائل العمل [١] وصنعها همـا من مميزات العمل البشري بوجه خاص ، وان كنا نجدهما في حالة جرمية عند بعض الانواع الحيوانية . ولهـذا السبب يعرّف « فرانكلين » الانسان بقوله : « الانسان هو حيوان يصنع ادوات » (A Toolmaking Animal)[٢] . هذا وان بقايا وسائل العمل القديمة لها من الخطورة في درس الاشكال الاقتصادية للمجتمعات المندثرة، ما لتركيب العظام المدفونة [٣] من الخطر في معرفة تنظيم العروق المنقرضة . وان ما يميز عهداً اقتصادياً من عهـد آخر ، هو طريقة صنع الشيء اكثر من الشيء المصنوع ذاته . فوسائـل العمل هي مقاييس [٤]

[١] يعني ماركس بـ«وسائل العمل» ادوات الانتاج على الخصوص (تعليق يوسف ستالين)

(٢) هذه العبارة موجودة بالانكليزية في الاصل. (المعرب)

(٣) Os fossiles

(٤) Gradimètres

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تطور الشغيل ومرآة مستوى العلاقات الاجتماعية التي يعمل ضمنها » (كارل ماركس : رأس المال، الكتاب الاول ، الجزء الاول، ص ١٩٥-١٩٦، مكتب المطبوعات ، باريس ١٩٣٨) .

ويقول في مكان اخر :

« ان العلاقات الاجتماعيـة مرتبطة ارتباطاً وثيقاً بالقوى المنتجة . وعنـدما يحصل الناس على قوى منتجة جديدة ، يغيرون اسلوبهم في الانتاج، وبتغييرهم اسلوب الانتـاج ، اي بتغييرهم طرق اكتساب معيشتهم ،يغيرون كل علاقاتهم الاجتماعية. فطاحونة الهواء تعطيك مجتمع الحاكم الاقطاعي ، والطاحونة البخارية تعطيك مجتمع الرأسمالي الصناعي» (كارل ماركس : شقاء الفلسفة، جواب على فلسفة الشقاء للسيد برودون ، ص ٩٩٨ ، مكتب المطبوعات ، باريس ، ١٩٣٧) .

«ان هنالك حركة نمو مستمرة في القوى المنتجة، وحركة تهديم مستمرة في العلاقات الاجتماعيـة ، وحركة تكون مستمرة في الافكار ، وليس من شيء ثابت سوى تجريد (١) الحركة » (المرجـع ذاته ، ص ٩٩)

ويعطي انجلز في مقدمة « بيان الحزب الشيوعـــي » التعريف التالي للمادية التاريخية :

« ان الانتاج الاقتصادي ، والبناء الاجتماعي

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(١) Abstraction

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الذي ينتج منه بالضرورة ، يؤلفان ، في كل عهد تاريخي ، اساس التاريخ السياسي والفكري لهذا العهد ... وبالتالي ، فكل التاريخ (منذ انحلال ملكية الارض المشاعية الابتدائية) هو تاريخ نضال بين الطبقات ، نضال بين طبقات مستثمَرة وطبقات مستثمِرة، بين طبقات مسودة وطبقات سائدة ، في مختلف مراحل تطورها الاجتماعي... وقد بلغ هذا النضال في الوقت الحاضر مرحلة اصبحت فيها الطبقة المستثمرة المضطهدة (البروليتاريا) لا تستطيع ان تتحرر من الطبقة التي تستثمرها وتضطهدها (البورجوازية) ، دون ان تحرر ،في الوقت نفسه والى الابد ، المجتمع باسره من الاستثمار ومن الاضطهاد ومن نضال الطبقات » (مقدمة فريدريك انجلس للطبعة الالمانية (١٨٨٣) لبيان الحزب الشيوعي ، ص ٦ ، مكتب المطبوعات ، باريس ، ١٩٣٣)

د – خاصة الانتاج الثالثة : هي ان القوى المنتجة الجديدة وعلاقات الانتاج التي تطابقها ، لا تنشأ خارج المجتمع القديم بعد زواله ، بل تنشأ في قلب النظام القديم نفسه ، فهي ليست نتيجة عمل واع مقصود يقوم به الناس ، بل تبرز عفواً وبصورة مستقلة عن وعي الناس وارادتهم ، ويعود ذلك الى سببين :

اولا ، لان الناس ليسوا احراراً في اختيار اسلوب الانتاج ، فكل جيل جديد يجد عند دخوله الى الحياة ،قوى منتجة وعلاقات انتاج جاهزة ، خلقها عمل الاجيال السابقة .

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فكل جيل جديد مضطر ان يقبل ، في البداية ، كل ما يجده جاهزاً في ميدان الانتاج وان يألفه ليستطيع انتاج الحوائج المادية .

وثانياً ، لأن الناس ، عندما يحسنون هذه او تلك من ادوات الانتاج ، وهذا او ذاك من عناصر القوى المنتجة ، لا يدركون النتائج الاجتماعية التي يجب ان تؤدي اليها هذه التحسينات ، بل هم لا يفهمونها ولا تخطر لهم في بال ، فهم لا يفكرون الا في مصالحهم اليومية ، وفي تسهيل عملهم ، وفي الحصول على فائدة مباشرة وملموسة .

فلما بدأ بعض اعضاء المشاعية الابتدائية شيئاً فشيئاً يتلمسون الانتقال من الأدوات الحجرية الى الادوات الحديدية ، كانوا ، ولا ريب ، يجهلون النتائج الاجتماعية التي سيؤدي اليها هذا التجديد . كانوا لا يفكرون فيها ، وكانوا لا يدركون ولا يفهمون أن ادخال الادوات المعدنية يعني ثورة في الانتاج ، وسيؤدي في النهاية الى نظام الرق. وغاية ما كانوا يريدون ان يسهلوا عملهم ويحصلوا على فائدة مباشرة ملموسة . فكان نشاطهم الواعي مقتصراً على نطاق ضيق ، هو نطاق هذه الفائدة الشخصية اليومية .

ولما اخذت البورجوازية الفتية الاوروبية ، في عهد النظام الاقطاعي ، تبني الى جانب ورشات الحرفيين الصغيرة ، مانيفكتورات كبيرة ، وترقي بذلك قوى المجتمع المنتجة ، كانت دون ادنى ريب ، تجهل النتائج الاجتماعية التي سيؤدي اليها هذا التجديد ، كانت لا تفكر في ذلك ، كانت لا تدرك ولا تفهم ان هذا التجديد « الصغير » سيؤدي الى حدوث تجمع جديد في القوى الاجتماعية وان هذا التجمع سينتهي

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بثورة ضد سلطة الملك التي كانت البورجوازية تخطب ودها، وكذلك ضد طبقة النبلاء التي كان احسن ممثلي هـــذه البورجوازية يحلمون غالباً بالدخول في صفوفها . فكل ما كانت تريده هو انقاص تكاليف انتاج البضائع ، والقاء اكبر كمية من البضائع في اسواق آسيا ، وفي اسواق اميركا التي كشفت حديثاً ، وزيادة ارباحها .فكان نشاطها الواعي منحصراً في نطاق ضيق ، هو نطاق هذه المصالـح العملية اليومية .

ولما راح الرأسماليون الروس ، بالاتفاق مع الرأسماليين الاجانب ، يؤسسون في روسيا ، بهمة ونشاط ، الصناعة الكبرى الحديثة المجهزة بالآلات دون ان يمسوا القيصرية مع ترك الفلاحين طعاماً سائغاً لكبار ملاكي الارض ، كانوا دون ريب يجهلون النتائج الاجتماعية التي سيؤدي اليها هذا النمو العظيم في القوى المنتجة . كانوا لايفكرون في ذلك ، وكانوا لا يدركون ولا يفهمون ان هذا الرقي السريع الخطير في ميدان قوى المجتمع المنتجة ، سيؤدي الى تجمع جديد للقوى الاجتماعية ،وان هذا التجمع سيسمح للبروليتاريا بان تتحد مع الفلاحين وتحقق انتصار الثورة الاشتراكية . فكل ما كانوا يريدون هو توسيـع الانتاج الصناعي الى اقصى حد ، وتأمين سيادتهم في سوق داخلية عظيمة واسعة ، واحتكار الانتـاج ، وابتزاز اكبر ربح ممكن من الاقتصاد الوطني .فما كان نشاطهم الواعي ليتجاوز حدود مصالحهم اليومية العملية المحضة .

وقد قال ماركس في هذا الموضوع :

« ان الناس اثناء الانتاج الاجتماعي لمعيشتهم

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(اي اثناء انتاج الحوائج المادية الضرورية لحياة الناس – تعليق يوسف ستالين) يقيمون فيما بينهم علاقات معينة ، ضرورية ، مستقلة[١] عن ارادتهم. وتطابق علاقات الانتاج هذه درجة معينة من تطور قواهم المنتجة المادية » (كارل ماركس : مساهمة في نقد الاقتصاد السياسي ، المقدمة) .

ولكن ذلك لا يعني ان تغير علاقات الانتاج والانتقال من علاقات الانتاج القديمة الى الجديدة ، يجريان على خط مستقيم ، دون نزاعات ودون هزات ، بل على العكس ، يجري هذا الانتقال عادة بقلب علاقات الانتاج القديمة قلباً ثورياً ، وباقامة العلاقات الجديدة في مكانها . فان تطور القوى المنتجة والتغيرات في ميدان علاقات الانتاج تجري، خلال مرحلة معينة، بصورة عفوية مستقلة عن ارادة الناس. ولكن ذلك لا يدوم الا الى حين، اي الى ان تصبح القوى المنتجة ، التي برزت واخذت تتطور ، في درجة كافية من النضج . فعندما تبلغ القوى المنتجة الجديدة حد النضج ، تتحول علاقات الانتاج الموجودة والطبقات التي تمثلها، الى حاجز « كؤود » لا يمكن ازاحته من الطريق الا بالنشاط الواعي للطبقات الجديدة ، وبعملها العنيف ، اي بالثورة . ويظهر اذ ذاك ، بشكل رائع ، الدور العظيم الذي تلعبه الافكار الاجتماعية الجديدة، والمؤسسات السياسية الجديدة، والسلطة السياسية الجديدة ، المدعوة الى الغاء علاقات الانتاج القديمة ومحوها بالقوة. فان حاجات المجتمع الاقتصادية الجديدة ، والنزاع بين القوى المنتجة الجديدة وعلاقات

(١) اشارة التأكيد هي مني – يوسف ستالين.

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الانتاج القديمة ، كل ذلك يولد افكاراً اجتماعية جديدة . ان هذه الافكار الجديدة تنظم الجماهير وتعبئها ، فتتحد الجماهير في جيش سياسي جديد، وتخلق سلطة ثورية جديدة، تستخدمها لالغاء النظام القديم في ميدان علاقات الانتاج ومحوه بالقوة، وتشييد نظام جديد فيه .

وهكذا يحل نشاط الناس الواعي محل سير التطور العفوي ، ويحل الانقلاب العنيف محل التطور السلمي وتحل الثورة محل التطور التدريجي .

يقول ماركس :

« ان البروليتاريا ، في نضالها ضد البورجوازية ، تتكون حتماً في طبقة ، وتنصب نفسها بالثورة ، طبقة سائدة .. وبصفتها طبقة سائدة ، تحطم بالعنف نظام الانتاج القديم » (كارل ماركس وفردريك انجلس : بيان الحزب الشيوعي ، ص ٣٣)

ويقول في مكان آخر :

« ان البروليتاريا ستستخدم سيادتها السياسية لانتزاع رأس المال شيئاً فشيئاً من البورجوازية ، ولجمع كل ادوات الانتاج في ايدي الدولة ، اي في ايدي البروليتاريا المنظمة في طبقة سائدة ، ولزيادة كمية القوى المنتجة باسرع ما يكون » (المرجع ذاته : ص ٣٢) . « العنف هو المولد لكل مجتمع قديم يتمخض بمجتمع جديد » (ماركس : رأس المال ، ص ٦٠٣ — الطبعة الروسية)

وقد عرف ماركس في المقدمة التاريخية لمؤلفه المشهور « مساهمة في نقد الاقتصاد السياسي » (١٨٥٩) جوهر

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المادية التاريخية تعريفاً عبقرياً :

« ان الناس اثناء الانتاج الاجتماعي لمعيشتهم، يقيمون فيما بينهم علاقات معينة ضرورية مستقلة عن ارادتهم . وتطابق علاقات الانتاج هذه درجة معينة من تطور قواهم المنتجة المادية . ومجموع علاقات الانتاج هذه يؤلف البنـــاء الاقتصادي للمجتمع ، اي الاساس الواقعي الذي يقوم عليه بناء فوقي (١) ، حقوقي وسياسي ، وتطابقه كذلك اشكال معينة من الوعي الاجتماعي . ان اسلوب انتاج الحياة المادية يكيف تفاعل الحياة الاجتماعي والسياسي والفكري ، بصورة عامة . فليس وعي الناس هو الذي يعين معيشتهم ، بل ،على العكس من ذلك ، معيشتهم الاجتماعية هي التي تعين وعيهم . وعندما تبلـغ قوى المجتمع المنتجة المادية درجة معينة في تطورها ، تدخل في تناقض مـع علاقات الانتاج الموجودة ،اومع علاقات الملكية — وليست هذه سوى التعبير الحقوقي لتلك — الـتي كانت الى ذلك الحين متحركة ضمنها .فبعد ان كانت هذه العلاقات اشكالا لتطور القوى المنتجة ،تصبح قيوداً لهذه القوى . وعندئذ ينفتح عهد ثورات اجتماعية . فان تغير الاساس الاقتصادي يزعزع كل البناء الفوقي الهائل على صور مختلفة من السرعة او البطء . وعند دراسة هذه الانقلابات ينبغي دائماً

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(١) Superstructure

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التمييز بين الانقلاب المادي لشروط الانتـــاج الاقتصادية ، هذا الانقلاب الذي يشاهد بالضبط الخاص بعلوم الطبيعة ، وبين الاشكال الحقوقية، والسياسية ، والدينية ، والفنية والفلسفية ، او بكلمة مختصرة ، الاشـكال الفكرية التي يتصور فيها الناس هذا النزاع ويكافحونه . فكما انه لا يمكن الحكم على فرد وفقاً للفكرة التي لديه عن نفسه ، كذلك لا يمكن الحكم على عهد انقلاب كهذا ، وفقاً لوعيه . فينبغي تفسير هـذا الوعى بتناقضات الحياة المادية ، وبالنزاع الذي تتعارض فيه قوى المجتمع المنتجة وعلاقات الانتاج . ان اي تكوين اجتماعي لا يموت ابداً قبل ان تتطور كل القوى المنتجة التي يستطيع ان يفسح لها المجال، ولا تظهر ابداً علاقات الانتاج الجديدة ، المتفوقة على القديمة ، قبل ان تنضج شروط وجودها المادية في قلب المجتمع القديم .

« ولهذا ، فالانسانية لا تضع امامها ابداً الا مسائل تستطيع حلها . اذ انه يتضح ،عند الامعان في الامور ، ان المسألة نفسها لا تبرز الا عندمـا تكون الشروط المادية لحلها موجودة او ، على الاقل، آخذة في التكون »

هذا ما تعلمنا اياه المادية الماركسية المطبقة على الحياة الاجتماعية وعلى تاريخ المجتمع ،وتلك هي الخطوط الاساسية للمادية الديالكتيكية والتاريخية .

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٣ — البلاشفة والمنشفيك في سنوات الرجعة الستوليبينية
— نضال البلاشفة ضد انصار التصفية و«الاوتزوفيين»(١)

صار العمل في منظمات الحزب خلال سنوات الرجعة، اصعب بكثير مما كان عليه في الدور السابق، دور نمو الثورة. فنقص عدد اعضاء الحزب نقصاً كبيراً. وكان عدد عديد من رفاق الطريق، من صغار البورجوازيين، وخصوصاً من المثقفين، يبارحون صفوف الحزب خوفاً من ملاحقات الحكومة القيصرية.

وقد بيّن لينين ان على الاحزاب الثورية، في مثل هذه الاوقات، ان تعمل على استكمال تثقفها. فهي في دور نهوض الثورة تعلمت الهجوم، وعليها في دور الرجعة ان تتعلم التراجع بانتظام، والمرور الى العمل السري والمحافظة على الحزب اللاشرعي(١) وتقويته والاستفادة من الامكانيات الشرعية، اي من جميع المنظمات الشرعية، والجماهيرية منها على الخصوص، لتوثيق صلاتها بالجماهير.

وكان المنشفيك يتراجعون بارتباك، غير مؤمنين بامكان نهوض الثورة مجدداً، ويتنكرون بصورة مخجلة للمطالب

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(١) الاوتزوفيون — تسمية عرف بها نفر من البلاشفة القدماء الذين انزلقوا في دور الرجعة (١٩٠٨) الى الانتهازية، فراحوا يطالبون بان يقبع الحزب في منظمته السرية وان يتخلى عن كل عمل في منظمات العمال الشرعية، كالنقابات وغيرها، ويلحون في طلب استدعاء نواب الحزب من مجلس الدوما. فكانوا بعملهم هذا يريدون تصفية الحزب بعزله عن الجماهير. وتسميتهم مشتقة من كلمة «اوتزوفات» ومعناها بالروسية «استدعى» [المعرب].

(٢) اللاشرعي : Illégal — وشرعي : Légal — [المعرب].

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الثورية التي يتضمنها برنامج الحزب ، ولشعارات الحزب الثورية . وكان في نيتهم الغاء حزب العمال الثوري اللاشرعي وتصفيته ، فسمي هذا النوع من المنشفيك بانصار التصفية .

اما البلاشفة فكانوا ، خلافا للمنشفيك ، موقنين بانه سيحدث في السنوات القريبة نهوض ثوري ، وبان من واجب الحزب تهيئة الجماهير لهذا النهوض الجديد . فمهمات الثورة ، مهماتها الاساسية ، لم تكن قد تحققت . فالفلاحون لم يحصلوا على اراضي الاسياد ، والعمال لم ينالوا حقهم في العمل ثماني ساعات في اليوم ، والاوتوقراطية القيصرية المكروهة من الشعب لم تُقلب ، بل قضت على القسم الضئيل من الحريات السياسية التي انتزعها الشعب منها في سنة ١٩٠٥ . واذن ، فالاسباب التي ولدت ثورة ١٩٠٥ لم تزل هي هي . ولهذا كان البلاشفة موقنين بنهوض الحركة الثورية من جديد ، وكانوا يستعدون له ويحشدون قوى الطبقة العاملة .

وكان البلاشفة يستمدون هذا اليقين بنهوض الثورة حتما ، نهوضا جديداً ، من امر آخر ايضا ، هو ان ثورة ١٩٠٥ علمت الطبقة العاملة ان تنتزع حقوقها بالنضال الثوري الجماهيري . فلم يكن من الممكن ان ينسى العمال في سنوات الرجعة - سنوات هجوم الرأسمال - دروس ١٩٠٥ . وقد ذكر لينين رسائل كتبها العمال وقالوا فيها عند كلامهم عن مضايقات اصحاب المصانع وارهاقهم : «صبراً ! سيأتي ١٩٠٥ اخر !.. »

وقد بقي هدف البلاشفة السياسي الاساسي هو هو ، كما كان في عام ١٩٠٥ ، اي قبل القيصرية ، واتمام الثورة الديموقراطية البورجوازية ، والعبور الى الثورة الاشتراكية .

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ولم يكن البلاشفة ينسون هـذا الهدف لحظة واحدة . بل كانوا يتابعون وضع الشعارات الثورية الاساسية امام الجماهير : جمهورية ديموقراطية ، مصادرة اراضي كبار الملاكين ، ثماني ساعات عمل في اليوم .

ولم يكن من الممكن ان تبقى خطة الحزب كما كانت في دور نهوض الثورة عام ١٩٠٥ . فكان من المتعـذر ، مثلاً، دعوة الجماهير، في وهلة قصيرة، الى الاضراب السياسي العام او الى الثورة المسلحة ، اذ كانت الحركة الثورية في هبوط، والطبقة العاملة في اعياء كبير، بينما موقف الطبقات الرجعية يقوى ويشتد . فما كان الحزب ليستطيع الا اخذ الحالة الجديدة بعين الاعتبار . وكان من واجبه الاستعاضة عن خطة الهجوم بخطة الدفاع ، اي خطة تجميـع القوى ، خطة انسحاب الكادر الى اللاشرعيـــة الى العمل الحزبي السري ، خطة التوفيق بـين العمل اللاشرعي والعمل في منظمات العمال الشرعية .

وقد عرف البلاشفة كيف يتممون هذه المهمة . ومما قاله لينين بهذا الصدد :

« لقد عرفنا ان نعمل خلال سنوات طويلة قبل الثورة، وليس من دون سبب قيل عنا : اننا صامدون كالصخر . لقد ألف الاشتراكيون الديموقراطيون حزب عمال لا يدع للخور سبيلاً اليه من جراء الفشل في اول هجوم عسكري، ولذا فهو لن يضيّع صوابه ولن ينجر الى المغـامرات » . (لينين: المؤلفات الكاملة، الجزء الثاني عشر ، صفحة ١٢٦، الطبعة الروسية) .

كان البلاشفة يناضلون من اجل المحافظـة على منظمات

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الحزب اللاشرعية وتقويتها. ولكنهم كانوا يرون، في الوقت نفسه، ان من الضروري الاستفادة من جميع الامكانيات الشرعية، من كل ظرف شرعي يسمح باقامة الصلة مع الجماهير والمحافظة عليها، وتقوية الحزب بذلك.

وهاك ما قاله ستالين في هذا الصدد: « لقد قام حزبنا في هذا الدور، بانعطاف تحول فيه من النضال الثوري المكشوف ضد القيصرية، الى طرق النضال الملتوية، الى استخدام الامكانيات الشرعية من كل نوع وكل صنف: من جمعيات التأمين الى منبر مجلس الدوما. كان هذا الدور، دور تقهقر بعد اندحار ثورة ١٩٠٥. وكان هذا الانعطاف يضطرنا الى استساغة طرق النضال الجديدة، لكي نستطيع، عندما يتم لنا جمع قوانا، ان نشهر نضالا ثورياً علنياً ضد القيصرية ». (ستالين – محضر مناقشات المؤتمر الخامس عشر – الصفحة ٣٦٦–٣٦٧، الطبعة الروسية، ١٩٣٥).

وقد استخدمت المنظمات الشرعية، التي ظلت سالمة، كنوع من الملاجىء لمنظمات الحزب اللاشرعية، وكاجهزة اتصال بالجماهير. واستفاد البلاشفة، لاجل الاحتفاظ بهذا الاتصال، من النقابات والمنظمات الاجتماعية الشرعية الاخرى: كجمعيات التأمين في حالة المرض، وتعاونيات العمال، والاندية والجمعيات الثقافية، وبيوت الشعب. واستخدموا منبر مجلس دوما الدولة للحملة على سياسة الحكومة القيصرية، وفضح الكاديت، وجذب الفلاحين الى جانب العمال. وكان الاحتفاظ بمنظمة الحزب اللاشرعية (السرية)، وقيادة كل اشكال العمل السياسي الآخر بواسطة هذه المنظمة، يضمنان للحزب تطبيق خطته الصحيحة وتهيئة القوى لاجل نهوض

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ثوري جديد .

كان البلاشفة يطبقون خطتهم الثورية مناضلين على جبهتين ، ضد شكلي الانتهازية في الحزب :ضداعداء الحزب المفضوحين ، انصار التصفية ،وضداعداء الحزب المستترين، المعروفين بالـ « اوتزوفيين » .

وقد قام لينين والبلاشفة بنضال حازم ضدتيار التصفية، منذ ظهور هذا الميل الانتهازي . وكان لينين يقول بان كتلة انصار التصفية ، هي فرع للبورجوازية الحرة في قلب الحزب .

في كانون الاول ١٩٠٨ ، انعقد في باريس المجلس الوطني العام الخامس لحزب العمال الاشتراكي الديموقراطي في روسيا . فاستنكر هذا المجلس ، بناء على اقتراح لينين تيار التصفية ، اي محاولات بعض مثقفي الحزب (من المنشفيك) الرامية الى « تصفية منظمة الحزب الموجودة في روسيا ، والاستعاضة عنها بكتلة غامضة الشكل تسعى الى البقاء في نطاق الشرعية مهما كلف الامر ، حتى ولو كان ثمن هذه الشرعية التخلي الصريح عن برنامج الحزب وخطته وتقاليده » . (الحزب الشيوعي للاتحاد السوفياتي في قراراته، القسم الاول،صفحة ١٢٨ ، الطبعة الروسية) .

ودعا المجلس العام جميع منظمات الحزب الى النضال بحزم ضد محاولات التصفية .

الا ان المنشفيك لم يخضعوا لقرار المجلس ، بل اخذوا ينزلقون اكثر فاكثر في طريق التصفية ، طريق خيانة الثورة ، طريق التقرب من الكاديت ، ويتخلون اكثر فاكثر بصورة مفضوحة عن البرنامج الثوري لحزب العمال،

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عن شعارات الجمهورية الديموقراطية ، ويوم الثماني ساعات ، ومصادرة اراضي كبار الملاكين . وكانوا ، بتخليهم عن برنامج الحزب وخطته ، يؤملون الحصول من الحكومة القيصرية على ترخيص بوجود حزب علني ، شرعي ، يكون ، رغم كل ذلك ، حزب « عمال » ، على زعمهم . اي ان المنشفيك كانوا مستعدين للتآلف مع النظام الستوليبيني ، والنزول عند مقتضياته . ولهذا سمي انصار التصفية ايضاً : « حزب ستوليبين للعمال » .

وكان البلاشفة ، في الوقت الذي يكافحون فيه خصوم الثورة المفضوحين ، اي انصار التصفية — وعلى رأسهم « دان » و « اكسلرود » و « بوتريسوف » ، ومعهم « مارتوف » و « تروتسكي » والمنشفيك الاخرون ، يقومون ايضاً بنضال لا هوادة فيه ضد انصار التصفية المستترين ، اي ضد « الاوتزوفيين » ، الذين كانوا يخفون انتهازيتهم تحت جعجعة يسارية . وكانت كلمة « اوتزوفيين » هذه ، تطلق على نفر من قدماء البلاشفة الذين كانوا يلحون في طلب انسحاب نواب العمال من مجلس دوما الدولة ووقف كل عمل في المنظمات الشرعية بصورة عامة .

ففي سنة ١٩٠٨ ، طلب قسم من البلاشفة استدعاء النواب الاشتراكيين الديموقراطيين من مجلس دوما الدولة ، فسموا بالـ « اوتزوفيين » (من كلمة « اوتزوفات » ، ومعناها : استدعى) . وكان هؤلاء « الاوتزوفيون » يؤلفون كتلة على حدة (قوامها بوغدانوف ، لوناتشارسكي ، اليكسينسكي ، بوكروفسكي ، بوبنوف وغيرهم) ، شهرت النضال على لينين وعلى الخطة اللينينية . كانوا يرفضون رفضاً

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باتاً العمل في نقابات العمال وفي الجمعيات الشرعية الاخرى، ملحقين بذلك ضرراً كبيراً بقضية العمال ، وكانوا يسعون الى فصل الحزب عن الطبقة العاملة وحرمانه الصلة بالجماهير غير الحزبية، ويريدون الانزواء في المنظمة السرية معرضين الحزب بذلك الى الهلاك، بتجريده من امكان الاستفادة من اي ستار شرعي. ولم يكن الاوتزوفيون ليفهموا ان البلاشفة بوجودهم في مجلس دوما الدولة ، وبواسطة هـذا المجلس ، يستطيعون التأثير على طبقة الفلاحين، وفضح سياسة الحكومة القيصرية، سياسة الكاديت، الذين كانوا يحاولون جر الفلاحين وراءهم بالغش والحيلة. لقد كان « الاوتزوفيون » يضايقون حركة تجميع القوى، حركة الاستعداد لنهوض ثوري جديد، فكانوا اذن من انصار «التصفية عكساً» ، اي كانوا يسعون الى الحؤول دون استخدام المنظمات الشرعية، ويتخلون في الواقع عن السياسة القائمة على تأمين قيادة الجماهير غير الحزبية، الواسعة، من قبـل طبقة العمال، اي يتخلون عن العمل الثوري.

وفي سنة ١٩٠٩ ، دعي مجلس تحرير الصحيفة البلشفية « بروليتاري » الى الانعقاد بهيئته الكاملة، للمناقشة في سلوك « الاوتزوفيين » ، فشجبهم ، واعلن البلاشفة ان ليس ثمة ما يجمعهم بهم ، وطردوهم من المنظمة البلشفية .

لم يكن انصار التصفية و « الاوتزوفيون » ، اولاً واخراً ، بالنسبة للطبقة العاملة وحزبها ، سوى رفاق طريق من البورجوازيين الصغار . فلما وجدت الطبقة العاملة في ساعات صعبة عصيبة، اظهر انصار التصفية و«الاوتزوفيون» وجههم الحقيقي بكل جلاء ووضوح .

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الجامعات الشعبية ، ومؤتمر النساء ، ومؤتمر اطباء المعامل ، ومؤتمر حركة مقاومة المشروبات الكحولية . فكان لخطابات البلاشفة في تلك المؤتمرات ، اهمية سياسية كبرى وصدى بعيد في البلاد باسرها . فقد فضح وفد العمال البلاشفة الذي تكلم في مؤتمر الجامعات الشعبية ، سياسة القيصرية التي كانت تخنق كل عمل ثقافي ، واجتهد في التدليل على انه لا يمكن الوصول الى نهوض ثقافي حقيقي في البلاد الا بتصفية القيصرية . وشرح وفد العمال الذي اشترك في مؤتمر الاطباء ، الشروط الفظيعة المغايرة للصحة التي كان العمال مضطرين الى العمل والحياة في ظلها . واختتم مستنتجاً انه لا يمكن تنظيم العناية الطبية في المعامل بصورة صالحة ، دون قلب النظام القيصري .

وهكذا حل البلاشفة ، شيئاً فشيئاً ، محل انصار التصفية في مختلف المنظمات الشرعية التي ظلت حية . وسمحت لهم خطتهم المبتكرة ، خطة الجبهة الموحدة مع جماعة بليخانوف الامينة للحزب ، بالاستيلاء على عدد من منظمات العمال المنشفية (في حي فيبورغ ، في ايكاترينوسلاف ، الخ . . .)

لقد اظهر البلاشفة في هذه المرحلة الصعبة ، كيف ينبغي التوفيق بين العمل الشرعي والعمل اللاشرعي .

●

٥ – انعقاد المجلس العام للحزب في براغ عام ١٩١٢
– البلاشفة يجتمعون في حزب ماركسي مستقل

كان النضال ضد انصار التصفية و «الاوتزفيين» ، ومثله النضال ضد التروتسكيين ، يضع امام البلاشفة مهمة ملحة ، هي جمع البلاشفة في كل موحد ، لكي يتألف منه حزب

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بولشفي مستقل. كان ذلك من الضرورات الحاسمة ، اولاً : لكي يتخلص الحزب من التيارات الانتهازية التي كانت تقسم صفوف الطبقة العاملة ، وثانياً : لجمع قوى الطبقة العاملة وتهيئتها لنهوض ثوري جديد .

على انه كان ينبغي، للقيام بهذه المهمة ، البدء بتطهير الحزب من الانتهازيين ، من المنشفيك .

ولم يكن احد من البلاشفة ، في ذلك الحين ، يساوره الشك في ان وجودهم ، جنباً الى جنب ، مع المنشفيك، في حزب واحد ، اصبح امراً مستحيلا . لأن سلوك الخيانة الذي انتهجه المنشفيك اثناء دور الرجعة الستوليبينية ، والمحاولات التي قاموا بها لتصفية حزب الطبقة العاملة وتنظيم حزب جديد اصلاحي، كل ذلك كان يجعل الانفصال عنهم امراً لا مناص منه . لا سيما وان البلاشفة، ببقائهم في حزب واحد مع المنشفيك ، كانوا يحملون ، باشكال مختلفة ، المسؤولية المعنوية لسلوك هؤلاء . فصار اذن من المستحيل على البلاشفة ان يتحملوا بعد الان المسؤولية المعنوية لخيانة المنشفيك المفضوحة ، اذا كانوا لا يريدون ان يصبحوا هم انفسهم خونة للحزب وللطبقة العاملة . لأن الوحدة مع المنشفيك ، في نطاق حزب واحد ، كانت تتحول على هذا الشكل ، الى خيانة لقضية الطبقة العاملة وحزبها . فبات من الضروري ، اذن ، الانقطاع عن المنشفيك ، والسير بهذا الانقطاع حتى الانفصال الرسمي والعضوي ، اي طرد المنشفيك من الحزب .

كانت تلك هي الوسيلة الوحيدة لتكوين حزب الطبقة العاملة الثوري ، تكويناً جديداً ، يصبح فيه ذا برنامج

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ولم يتخذ اجتماع اللجنة المركزية هذا ، قراراً بشجب تيار التصفية و « الاوتزوفية » ، الا بعد الحاح شديد من لينين. ولكن في هذه المرة ايضاً،ايد زينوفييف وكامينيف اقتراح تروتسكي القائل بعدم تسمية انصار التصفية باسمهم الحقيقي .

وحدث ما توقعه لينين ، وما كان يدعو الى التحوط منه : وهو ان البلاشفة خضعوا وحدهم لقرار اللجنة المركزية ، فتوقفوا عن نشر جريدتهم « بروليتاري »،بينما تابع المنشفيك اصدار جريدتهم « صوت الاشتراكي الديموقراطي»(غولوس سوسيال ديموكراتا) ، التي كانت صحيفة انقسامية لانصار التصفية .

وقد أيد الرفيق ستالين موقف لينين دون تحفظ،ونشر في العدد ١٢ من جريدة « الاشتراكي الديموقراطي »،مقالا حول هذه القضية شجب فيه موقف اعوان التروتسكية ، واكد ضرورة تسوية الحالة غير الطبيعية التي نشأت في داخل الفرقة البلشفية ، نتيجة لسلوك الخيانة الذي سلكه كامينيف وزينوفييف وريكوف . وكان المقال يعين المهمات المباشرة التي تم تحقيقها فيما بعد ، في مجلس الحزب العام المنعقد في براغ ، وهي : عقد مجلس عام للحزب،ونشر جريدة علنية، وانشاء مركز سري عملي للحزب في روسيا . وكان مقال الرفيق ستالين مستوحى من قرارات لجنة باكو التي كانت تؤيد لينين بلا تحفظ .

ولاجل احباط كتلة آب ، التي كان تروتسكي يوجهها ضد الحزب ويجمع فيها العناصر المناوئة للحزب، من انصار التصفية التروتسكيين الى « الاوتزوفيين » و « بنائي الله »،

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أنشئت كتلة تضم انصار المحافظة على حزب العمال اللاشرعي وتوطيده ، ودخل فيها البلاشفة وعلى رأسهم لينين، ومعهم عدد صغير من الحزبيين المنشفيك وعلى رأسهم بليخانوف . وكان هذا الاخير وجماعته « المنشفيك الحزبيون » ، رغم بقائهم على المواقف المنشفية فيما يختص بسلسلة من القضايا ، قد انفصلوا بحزم عن كتلة آب وعن انصار التصفية، وسعوا الى التفاهم مع البلاشفة . فقبل لينين اقتراح بليخانوف ، واتفق معه موقتاً ضد العناصر المناوئة للحزب. وكان سلوك لينين مبنياً على اقتناعه بان اتفاقاً من هذا النوع فيه فائدة للحزب واضعاف لانصار التصفية .

وقد ايد الرفيق ستالين هذه الكتلة تأييداً تاماً، وكان اذ ذاك في المنفى ، فكتب في رسالة الى لينين يقول :

« في رأيي ان خطة الكتلة (اي كتلة لينين - بليخانوف) هي الخطة الصحيحة الوحيدة : اولا ، لانها وحدها توافق مصالح العمل الحقيقية في روسيا ، هذه المصالح التي تتطلب تجميع كل العناصر الامينة حقاً للحزب . ثانياً، لانها وحدها ايضاً ، تعجل في تحرر المنظمات الشرعية من نير انصار التصفية، اذ تحفر هوة بين العمال المنشفيك وانصار التصفية ، وتبعثر هؤلاء وتحطمهم » . (مقتطفات من لينين وستالين — الجزء الاول — صفحة ٥٢٩ —٥٣٠— الطبعة الروسية) .

وقد استطاع البلاشفة بفضل حسن التوفيق بين العمل السري والعمل الشرعي ، ان يصبحوا قوة ذات وزن في منظمات العمال الشرعية . ومن جملة الشواهد على ذلك ، التأثير البالغ الذي احدثه البلاشفة على جماعات العمال في اربعة مؤتمرات شرعية انعقدت في ذلك العهد، وهي: مؤتمر

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٤ – نضال البلاشفة ضد التروتسكية
– تأليف كتلة آب ضـــد الحزب

بينما كان البلاشفة يقومون بنضال لا هوادة فيه على جبهتين – ضد انصار التصفية وضد « الاوتزوفيين » – في سبيل خطة حازمة قوية لحزب العمال، كان تروتسكي يؤيد المنشفيك انصار التصفية . في تلك السنوات بالضبط، سماه لينين « يهوذا الصغير تروتسكي » . وكان تروتسكي قد نظم في فيينا (النمسا) فرقة ادبية ، ونشر جريدة زعم انها « فوق الكتل » ، ولكنها كانت في الواقع منشفية . وهاك ما كتبه لينين في ذلك العهد : « لقد سلك تروتسكي سلوك احط الوصوليين ودعاة الانقسام . انه يثرثر عن الحزب، الا ان سلوكه اسوأ من سلوك جميع دعاة الانقسام الاخرين » .

ونظم تروتسكي فيما بعد ، في عام ١٩١٢ ، كتلة آب التي ضمت كل الجماعات وكل الميول المعادية للبلاشفة، والموجهة ضد لينين وضد الحزب البولشفي . فاتحد في هذه الكتلة المعادية للبلشفية ، انصار التصفية والاوتزوفيون، مؤكدين بذلك صلة القرابة التي تؤلف بينهم . وكان تروتسكي والتروتسكيون يقفون من جميع القضايا الهامة موقف انصار التصفية . الا ان تروتسكي كان يخفي موقفه الداعي الى التصفية تحت قناع الوسطية (١) ، اي تحت قناع الدعوة الى التوفيق والمصالحة . فكان يدعي الوقوف على هامش البلاشفة والمنشفيك ، ويزعم انه يعمل للتوفيق بينهم . وقد قال لينين ، بهذه المناسبة ، ان تروتسكي أحط وأشد ضرراً من انصار

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(١) الوسطية : Centrisme – (المعرب) .

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التصفية المفضوحين ، لانه يخدع العمال بقوله انه «على هامش الكتل» ، مع انه ، في الواقع ، يؤيد المنشفيك ، انصار التصفية ، تأييداً تاماً لا تحفظ فيه . وكانت التروتسكية هي الكتلة الرئيسية الساعية الى تمكين تيار الوسطية . وقد قال الرفيق ستالين بعد ذلك :

« ان الوسطية هي مفهوم سياسي . ونهجها الفكري يرمي الى تكييف مصالح طبقة العمال حسب مصالح البورجوازية الصغيرة في داخل حزب مشترك واحد ، اي اخضاع مصالح الاولى لمصالح الثانية . ان هذا النهج الفكري غريب عن اللينينية ومناقض لها » . (ستالين – مسائل اللينينية – صفحة ٣٧٩ – الطبعة الروسية التاسعة) .

وفي هذا الدور ، كان « كامينيف » و « زينوفييف » و « ريكوف » ، في الواقع ، عملاء مقنعين لتروتسكي ، يهبون غالباً لمساعدته ضد لينين . ففي كانون الثاني ١٩١٠ ، عقدت الهيأة الكاملة لاعضاء اللجنة المركزية اجتماعاً ، تواطأ على الدعوة اليه كل من زينوفييف وكامينيف وريكوف وغيرهم من حلفاء تروتسكي السريين . وكانت تركيب اللجنة المركزية ، في ذلك العهد ، قد دخل عليه تعديل كبير عقيب اعتقال عدد من البلاشفة ، وتمكنت العناصر المترددة من النجاح في التصويت على قرارات مغايرة للينينية . وهكذا تقرر خلال الاجتماع المذكور ، توقيف نشر الجريدة البلشفية « بروليتاري » ، وتقديم مساعدة مالية لجريدة « برافدا » التي كان يصدرها تروتسكي في فيينا . وقد دخل كامينيف في هيأة تحرير جريدة تروتسكي ، ومعه زينوفييف ، وكان في نيتهما جعل تلك الوريقة لسان حال اللجنة المركزية .

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اللاشرعية » .

وتبين للمجلس ان اعضاء القاعدة ، في كل مكان ، قد اقروا المبدأ الاساسي الذي تقوم عليه الخطة البلشفية ابان دور التراجع ، وهو مبدأ التوفيق بين العملين الشرعي واللاشرعي في مختلف اتحادات العمال وجمعياتهم الشرعية.

وانتخب مجلس براغ لجنة مركزية بلشفية للحزب ، دخل فيها لينين وستالين و«اورجونيكيدزه» و«سفردلوف» و « سباندريان » و « غولوكتشيكين » وغيرهم . وقد انتخب الرفيقان ستالين وسفردلوف ، اللذان كانا اذ ذاك في المنفى ، عضوين في اللجنة المركزية رغم غيابهما. وانتخب الرفيق كالينين عضواً رديفاً .

وانشىء مركز عملي لقيادة النشاط الثوري في روسيا (سمي بالمكتب الروسي للجنة المركزية) وضع على رأسه الرفيق ستالين . وقد ضم هذا المكتب ايضاً كل من « سفردلوف » و « سباندريان » و « اورجونيكيدزه » و « كالينين » و « غولوكتشيكين » .

وقد استعرض مجلس براغ كل نضال البلاشفة السابق ضد الانتهازية ، وقرر طرد المنشفيك من الحزب .

وبعدان تم ذلك ، كرّس المجلس وجود الحزب البلشفي في كيان مستقل .

على ان البلاشفة ، بعد ان تغلبوا على المنشفيك في الميدانين الفكري والتنظيمي، وبعدان طردوهم من الحزب، احتفظوا بعلم الحزب القديم ، باسمه : « حزب العمال الاشتراكي الديموقراطي في روسيا». ولهذا ظل الحزب البلشفي حتى عام ١٩١٨ يدعى بهذا الاسم، مضافاً اليه، بين هلالين،

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كلمة « بلشفيك »

وقد كتب لينين الى غوركي ، في اوائل ١٩١٢ ، عن نتائج مجلس براغ ،يقول : «لقد نجحنا اخيراً ،رغم سفالات انصار التصفية ، في بناء الحزب ولجنته المركزية من جديد. ولي الامل بان تشاطرنا سرورنا » . (لينين : المؤلفات الكاملة ، الجزء التاسع والعشرون ، صفحة ١٩ ، الطبعة الروسية)

وقد وصف الرفيق ستالين ، فيما بعد، اهمية مجلس براغ بالعبارات التالية : « كانت لهذا المجلس اهمية عظمى في تاريخ حزبنا ، من حيث انه وضع خطاً فاصلاً بين البلاشفة والمنشفيك ، وجمع كل هذه المنظمات البلشفية في البلاد في حزب بلشفي واحد » (محضر جلسات المؤتمر الخامس عشر للحزب الشيوعي « البلشفيك » في الاتحاد السوفياتي : الصفحة ٣٦١-٣٦٢ ، الطبعة الروسية) .

وبعد طرد المنشفيك ، واجتماع البلاشفة في حزب مستقل ، اصبح هذا الحزب اقوى واشد، لانه طبق شعاره القائل :-ان الحزب يقوى بتطهيره من العناصر الانتهازية. على هذا النحو سار الحزب البلشفي ، هذا الحزب الذي يمتاز بانه من طراز جديد ،وبانه يختلف اختلافاً اساسياً من حيث مبادئه ذاتها عن احزاب الاممية الثانية . فقد كانت تلك الاحزاب التي تسمي نفسها ،بالكلام فقط، احزاباً ماركسية ، تتسامح في الواقع بان يكون في صفوفها خصوم للماركسية ، خصوم انتهازيون مفضوحون ، وكان من جراء ذلك ان تركتهم يثيرون التفسخ في قلب الاممية الثانية وان يقتلوها. اما البلاشفة فقد قاموا ، على العكس من ذلك، بنضال لا

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جديد ، حزب ماركسي حقيقي ، يقف موقفاً صارماً لا هوادة فيه من الانتهازيين، وموقفاً ثورياً من البرجوازية، حزب متلاحم الصفوف ومتراص كالصخر ، يكون حزب الثورة الاجتماعية ، حزب ديكتاتورية البروليتاريا .

هذا هو الحزب الجديد الذي كان البلاشفة يسعون اليه ، ويعملون على تهيئته وبنائه . وان كل تاريخ النضال الذي شهروه ضد « الاقتصاديين »، والمنشفيك ، والتروتسكيين، و « الاوتزوفيين » والمثاليين من كل لون ، بما فيهم انصار المذهب النقدي التجريبي ، لم يكن سوى تاريخ تكوين حزب مثل هذا الحزب . كان البلاشفة يطمحون الى خلق حزب جديد ، بلشفي ، يكون مثالا لجميع الراغبين في ان يكون لهم حزب ماركسي ثوري حقيقي . وقد عملوا في سبيل انشائه منذ عهد جريدة « ايسكرا » القديمة . كانوا يعدون العدة له بصلابة وعناد، رغم كل شيء وضد كل شيء. ويعود فضل القيام بالدور الاساسي الحاسم في هذا العمل التحضيري ، الى لينين ومؤلفاته ، ومنها « ما العمل ؟ » و « خطتان » ، الخ .. فقد ساعد كتاب لينين « ما العمل؟ » على اعداد القاعدة الفكرية لهذا الحزب . وساعد كتابه « خطوة الى امام ، خطوتان الى وراء » على اعداد قاعدته التنظيمية . واتاح كتابه « خطتان للاشتراكية الديموقراطية في الثورة الديموقراطية » اعداد قاعدته السياسية . كما ان كتابه « المادية والمذهب النقدي التجريبي » اتاح اعداد الحزب نظرياً .

ويمكن القول ، بكل تأكيد ، ان ليس في التاريخ بعد ، كتلة سياسية اعدت عدتها لتتكون في حزب، باحسن

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مما فعلته الكتلة البلشفية . فكان، اذن، امر تكوين الحزب، شيئاً جاهزاً ، بلغ النضج الكامل ، وكانت مهمة المجلس العام السادس للحزب مقتصرة على تتويج ذلك العمل المهيأ، بطرد المنشفيك وتأليف الحزب الجديد ، الحزب البلشفي.

انعقد المجلس الوطني العام السادس للحزب في براغ ، في كانون الثاني ١٩١٢ . وكانت اكثر من عشرين منظمة ممثلة فيه . فكانت اهميته في الواقع اهمية مؤتمر للحزب .

وقد جاء في بلاغ المجلس العام، الذي اعلن اعادة انشاء جهاز الحزب المركزي ، اي تأليف اللجنة المركزية ، ان سنوات الرجعة كانت اصعب سنوات قضاها الحزب منذ ان تكونت الاشتراكية الديموقراطية بروسيا في شكل تنظيمي . على انه بالرغم من جميع اعمال الاضطهاد ، بالرغم من الضربات القاسية التي اتت من خارج الحزب ، بالرغم من خيانة الانتهازيين وتقلباتهم في داخل الحزب ، بالرغم من كل ذلك ، حافظ حزب الطبقة العاملة على علمه وعلى منظمته . ثم اضاف البلاغ : « ليس علم الاشتراكية الديموقراطية الروسية وبرنامجها ومبادئها الثورية وحدها باقية ، بل باقية ايضاً منظماتها ، منظماتها التي استطاعت اعمال الاضطهاد ان تؤذيها وان تضعفها ، ولكنها لم تستطع تدميرها » .

وقد نوه المجلس باولى علائم النهوض الجديد في حركة العمال بروسيا ، وبعودة نشاط العمل في الحزب . كما انه لاحظ ، بناء على تقارير المندوبين ، انه « يجري في كل مكان عمل حازم في القاعدة، بين العمال الاشتراكيين الديموقراطيين، لاجل توطيد المنظمات والكتل الاشتراكية الديموقراطية

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موحد وخطة موحدة ومنظمة طبقية موحدة .

كانت تلك هي الوسيلة الوحيدة لاعادة الوحدة الحقيقية (لا الوحدة الصورية المحضة) الى قلب الحزب، تلك الوحدة التي هدمها المنشفيك .

وكان على المجلس العام السادس للحزب ، الذي هيأه البلاشفة ، ان يتمم هذه المهمة .

ولكن هذه المهمة ، لم تكن سوى وجه واحد للمسألة. فان قطع الصلات رسمياً مع المنشفيك، واجتماع البلاشفة في حزب مستقل، كانا يمثلان، دون ادني ريب، مهمة سياسية ذات اهمية قصوى . غير انه كان امام البلاشفة واجب آخر، اهم منها . فالمسألة لم تكن لتقتصر على قطع العلاقة مع المنشفيك وتأليف حزب مستقل وحسب ، بل كانت المسألة الهامة الكبرى هي ان يصار ، بعد قطع العلاقة مع المنشفيك ، الى انشاء حزب جديد من طراز جديد، مختلف عن الاحزاب الاشتراكية الديموقراطية العادية المعروفة في الغرب ، حزب متطهر من العناصر الانتهازية ، وقادر على قيادة الطبقة العاملة الى النضال من اجل الاستيلاء على الحكم .

وكان جميع المنشفيك ، دون تفريق في اللون ، من « اكسلرود » و« مارتينوف » الى « مارتوف » و« تروتسكي »، يستخدمون في نضالهم ضد البلاشفة سلاحاً واحداً استعاروه من الاشتراكيين الديموقراطيين في اوروبا الغربية . كانوا يريدون في روسيا حزباً كالحزب الاشتراكي الديموقراطي الالماني او الفرنسي مثلاً. ولم يكونوا، في الحقيقة، يكافحون البلاشفة الا لانهم كانوا يرون فيهم شيئاً جديداً وغير

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مألوف ، يمتازون به عن الاشتراكيين الديموقراطيين في الغرب . فكيف كانت الاحزاب الاشتراكية الديموقراطية في الغرب ؟ كانت خليطاً من عناصر ماركسية وانتهازية ، من اصدقاء الثورة واعدائها ، من انصار الفكرة الحزبية وخصومها ، وكان الفريق الاول يتصالح شيئاً فشيئاً مع الفريق الثاني في الميدان الفكري ، ثم ينتهي الامر في الواقع بخضوع الفريق الاول شيئاً فشيئاً للفريق الثاني . كان البلاشفة يسألون الاشتراكيين الديموقراطيين في اوروبا الغربية : باسم ماذا تريدون التفاهم والمصالحة مع الانتهازيين ، مع خونة الثورة ؟ فكانوا يجيبون : باسم « السلام في داخل الحزب » ، باسم « الوحدة » . ويسأل البلاشفة من جديد : ولكن مع من تريدون الوحدة ، مع الانتهازيين ؟ فيأتي الجواب : أجل ، مع الانتهازيين . وهكذا كان من الواضح الجلي ، ان احزاباً من هذا الطراز لم يكن من الممكن ان تكون احزاباً ثورية !

ولم يكن ليعزب عن نظر البلاشفة ، ان الاحزاب الاشتراكية الديموقراطية في اوروبا الغربية ، كانت قد بدأت تتحول ، بعد موت انجلس ، من احزاب تعمل للثورة الاجتماعية ، الى احزاب تعمل فقط من اجل « اصلاحات اجتماعية » . ولم يكن ليفوتهم ان كل حزب من هذه الاحزاب ، قد انقلب — من حيث كيانه التنظيمي — من قوة قائدة ، الى ذيل لكتلته البرلمانية ذاتها .

ولم يكن البلاشفة يجهلون ان حزباً من هذا النوع قد ينزل اضراراً جسيمة بالطبقة العاملة ، وانه عاجز عن قيادتها الى الثورة ، وان الطبقة العاملة بحاجة الى حزب آخر ،

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هوادة فيه ضدالانتهازيين، وطهروا حزب العمال من دنس الانتهازية ، وتوصلوا الى خلق حزب من طراز جديد، حزب لينيني ، هو الحزب الذي توصل فيما بعد الى الاستيلاء على ديكتاتورية البروليتاريا .

فلو بقي الانتهازيون في صفوف حزب الطبقة العاملة ، حزب البلاشفة، لما استطاع هذا الحزب ان يخرج الى الطريق الفسيح وان يجر معه طبقة العمال ،ولما استطاع الاستيلاء على السلطة وتنظيم ديكتاتورية البروليتاريا، بل لما استطاع الخروج منتصراً من الحرب الاهلية ، وبناء الاشتراكية.

لقد صاغ مجلس براغ ، في قراراته، برنامجاً ذا حد ادنى للحزب ، يتضمن الشعارات السياسية الرئيسية المباشرة ، وهي : جمهورية ديموقراطية ، ثمان ساعات عمل في اليوم ، مصادرة جميع اراضي كبار ملاكي الاراضي .

على اساس هذه الشعارات الثورية، قام البلاشفة بحملتهم الانتخابية لمجلس دوما الدولة الرابع .

وعلى اساس هذه الشعارات تقدم وتعاظم النهوض الجديد في حركة جماهير العمال الثورية ، من ١٩١٢ الى ١٩١٤ .

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الخلاصة

كانت الفترة الممتدة بين عامي ١٩٠٨ و ١٩١٢ ، من المراحل التي كان العمل الثوري فيها محفوفاً بصعوبات كبرى. فبعد اندحار الثورة ، وفي الوقت الذي كانت فيه الحركة الثورية في هبوط ، والجماهير في حالة ضنك واعياء ، بدّل البلاشفة خطتهم منتقلين من النضال المباشر ضد القيصرية ، الى الطرق الملتوية . وهكذا استثمروا في ظروف الرجعة الستوليبينية القاسية، اقل الامكانيات الشرعية (من جمعيات التأمين والنقابات، الى منبر مجلس الدوما)بقصد الاحتفاظ بصلتهم مع الجماهير . وكان البلاشفة يعملون بلا كلل لحشد القوى استعداداً لنهوض الحركة الثورية من جديد .

في تلك الظروف القاسية التي اوجدها اندحار الثورة ، وما رافقها من ظهور التفسخ في تيارات المعارضة، وخيبة الامل في الثورة ، واشتداد حملات التحريف الـــتي شنها المثقفون المنفصلون عن الحزب(من امثال « بوغدانوف » و « بازاروف » وغيرهم) ضد اسس الحزب النظرية ، في تلك الظروف ، كان البلاشفة القوة الوحيدة التي لم تنكس علم الحزب، وكانوا الوحيدين الذين ظلوا امناء لبرنامج الحزب وردوا هجمات «ناقدي» النظرية الماركسية(مؤلف لينين : « المادية والمذهب النقدي التجريبي ») . ومما ساعد النواة البلشفية الاساسية التي كانت ملتفة حول لينين، على صيانة الحزب ومبادئه الثورية ، هـــو تفهمها الصحيح للفكرة الماركسية اللينينية ، وانصهارها المتـين بتلك الفكرة ، وادراكها العميق لاهـداف الثورة . فكان لينين يقول :

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« ليس بدون سبب قيل عنا ، اننا صامدون كالصخر » .

وقد تخلى المنشفيك ، شيئاً فشيئاً ، عن الثورة ، في ذلك العهد . وصاروا من انصار التصفية ، يلحون في طلب تصفية حزب العمال الثوري اللاشرعي ، ويتنكرون بصورة مفضوحة متعاظمة لبرنامج الحزب واهدافه وشعاراته الثورية . وقد حاولوا تنظيم حزب خاص بهم ، حزب اصلاحي ، فاطلق عليه العمال اسم « حزب ستوليبين للعمال » . وايد تروتسكي انصار التصفية ، متستراً ، برياء ونفاق ، وراء شعار « وحدة الحزب » ، الذي كان يعني في الواقع الوحدة مع انصار التصفية .

ومن جهة اخرى ، اخذ بعض البلاشفة الذين لم يفهموا ضرورة اقتباس طرق جديدة ، ملتوية ، في النضال ضد القيصرية ، يطالبون بالتخلي عن استخدام الامكانيات الشرعية ، ويلحون في طلب استدعاء نواب العمال من مجلس دوما الدولة . فسموا بالـ « اوتزوفيين » . وكانوا يدفعون الحزب الى الانفصال عن الجماهير ، ويضايقون حركة تجميع القوى ، حركة الاستعداد لنهوض ثوري جديد . اي ان هؤلاء « الاوتزوفيين » الذين تستروا بعبارات يسارية ، كانوا يتخلون عن النضال الثوري ، شأنهم في ذلك شأن انصار التصفية . وقد الف الفريقان معاً — الاتزوفيون وانصار التصفية — كتلة ضد لينين ، عرفت بكتلة آب ، نظمها تروتسكي . غير ان البلاشفة انتصروا على هؤلاء جميعاً وعلى كتلتهم ، وانقذوا حزب العمال اللاشرعي .

وكان الحدث الهام الذي ميز هذه المرحلة ، هو انعقاد المجلس العام للحزب ، في مدينة براغ ، في كانون الثاني

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١٩١٢ . فقد طرد هذا المجلس الاعضاء المنشفيك من الحزب، وبذلك وضع حداً نهائياً للوحدة الرسمية التي كانت تجمع بين البلاشفة والمنشفيك في حزب واحد . وفي هذا المجلس، تقرر ان يجتمع البلاشفة وحدهم في حزب مستقل ، بعد ان كانوا كتلة سياسية ، وسمي الحزب الجديد بـ « حزب العمال الاشتراكي الديموقراطي (البلشفي) في روسيا ». وهكذا سجل مجلس براغ ولادة حزب من طراز جديد ، حزب اللينينية ، الحزب البلشفي .

وقد لعب تطهير حزب العمال من العناصر الانتهازية ، اي من المنشفيك ، دوراً هاماً ، دوراً حاسماً ، في تطور الحزب والثورة فيما بعد . فلو ان البلاشفة لم يطردوا من الحزب ، العناصر المنشفية الخائنة لقضية الطبقة العاملة ، لما استطاع حزب العمال في عام ١٩١٧ ، ان يثير الجماهير ويدفعها الى الظفر بديكتاتورية البروليتاريا .

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ZUM 35. JAHRESTAG DER GRÜNDUNG DER SOWJETARMEE

SOWJETSOLDATEN SOLDATEN DES VOLKES KÄMPFER FÜR FREIHEIT UND FRIEDEN

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„Olyanná kell tenni
Szövetségünket,
melyben lüktet az élet,
melytől az ellenség retteg,
melyet a munkások szeretnek."

F.K.: CSIKY GYÖRGY

F.V.: KÓSA ZOLTÁN

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